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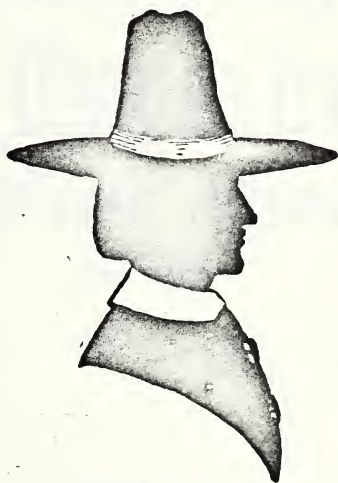
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The Massachusetts Magazine.

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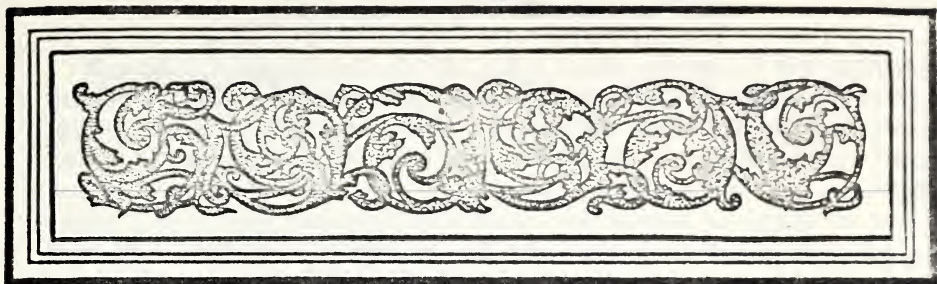
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THE HIGGINSON-SKELTON MIGRATION TO SALEM IN 1629.*

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

The first two companies of Englishmen to take up their abode in Salem have been described by the author in previous articles in the *Massachusetts Magazine*.* In this we consider the third and largest one; the one that furnished the men and means which made a permanent and successful settlement an assured fact. Just as the second migration to Salem under Endicott was a marked advance in the matter of equipment and financial support, over the little band of planters who came to Salem from Cape Ann in 1626 under Roger Conant, so this third company under the Reverends Higginson and Skelton was a vast deal better supplied than either of the others had been. The fact that the shrewd men of means in England were willing to invest large sums for the equipment of this third company was a most eloquent tribute to the industry and fortitude of the hardy men who had preceded them to the wilderness and had demonstrated that New England was a region of great possibilities. White in his "Brief Relation" written in 1630, proves this connection when he writes that "His (Endicott's) prosperous journey, and safe arrival of himself and all his company, and good report which he sent back of the country, gave such encouragement to the work, that more adventurers joining with the first undertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the design, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more..... By this time the often agitation of this affair in sundry parts of the kingdom, the good report of Captain Endicott's government, and the increase of the Colony, began to awaken the spirits of some persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged."

*This paper in slightly amended form was delivered by the author before the Old Planters Society at the Annual meeting in March, 1910.



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1. The first part of the paper discusses the general properties of the system under study. It is found that the system exhibits a wide range of behavior, depending on the parameters of the system. The results are summarized in Table I.

2. The second part of the paper describes the experimental procedure used to obtain the data. The results are shown in Figure 1, which is a plot of the measured quantity versus the parameter of interest. The data points are shown as open circles, and the solid line represents the theoretical prediction.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the results of the experiment. It is found that the experimental results are in good agreement with the theoretical prediction. The results are summarized in Table II.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the results. It is found that the results have important implications for the understanding of the system under study. The results are summarized in Table III.

5. The fifth part of the paper discusses the conclusions of the study. It is found that the system under study exhibits a wide range of behavior, depending on the parameters of the system. The results are summarized in Table IV.

Received March 10, 1964
Revised May 10, 1964

Governor Endicott, in his first letter to the officers of the company in England, dated September 13, 1628, and received by them February 13, 1628-9, requested that more men and supplies and stock be sent over, for Governor Craddock in his reply dated February 16, 1628-9, wrote: "to give you hearty thanks for your large advice contained in this your letter, which I have fully imparted unto them, and further to certify to you that they intend not to be wanting by all good means to further the plantation. To which purpose, (God willing,) you shall hear more at large (from) them, and that speedily: there being one ship bought for the Company, of 100 tons, and two others hired, of about 200 tons each of them, one of 19, and the other 20 pieces of ordnance; besides, not unlike but one other vessel shall come in company with these; in all which ships, for the general stock and for particular adventures, there is likely to be sent thither 'twixt 2 and 300 persons, (we hope to reside there,) and about 100 head of cattle." He mentioned the fact that he had forwarded to Governor Endicott in November, 1628, by Mr. Allerton, a letter in which he stated that the company desired Endicott to provide "convenient housing fit to lodge as many as you can against they do come; and withal what beaver, or other commondities, or fish, (if you have the means to preserve it,) can be gotten ready to return in the aforesaid ships; likewise wood, if no better lading be to be had;...whereby our ships, whereof two are to return back directly hither, may not come wholly empty." In closing he wrote; "And so till my next, which shall be, (God willing,) by our ships, who I make account will be ready to set sail from here about the 20th of this next month of March." As a matter of record however, they did not sail until the middle of April.

In the above mentioned letter, Governor Craddock states that "It is fully resolved, by God's assistance, to send over two ministers, at the least, with the ships now intended to be sent thither." He mentioned Mr. Peters but stated that "he is now in Holland, from whence his return hither I hold to be uncertain. Those we send you, shall be by the approbation of Mr. White, of Dorchester, and Mr. Davenport."

The records of the company show that at a meeting held March 23, 1628, "intimation was given by Mr. Nowell, by letters from Mr. Isaac Johnson, that Mr. Higgeson, of Leicester, an able minister, proffers to go to our plantation; who being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fit for our present occasions, it was thought by those present to entreat Mr. John Humfry to ride to Leicester, and if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to go this present voyage, that he should deal with him; first, if his remove from hence be without scandal to that people, and approved by consent of some of the best affected among them, with the approbation of Mr. Hildersham, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch." This Mr. Hildersham referred to has been called "a great and shining light of the Puritan



party, and justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety." Mr. Higginson was found to be satisfactory to all concerned. In the letter of instructions to Governor Endicott he was described as a "grave man, and of worthy commendations." Concerning the other leader of this company, we read in the same letter: "One of them is well known to yourself, viz. Mr. Skelton, whom we have the rather desired to bear a part in this work, for that we are informed yourself have formerly received much good by his ministry." A third minister was sent in the employ of the company, "Mr. Bright, some times trained up under Mr. Davenport."

Other prominent men selected to go were Mr. Samuel Sharp, "by us entertained to be master-gunner of our ordinance;" Mr. Thomas Graves, the engineer, "a man commended to us as well for his honesty, as skill in many things very useful;" and Lambert Wilson, chirurgion, "to remain with you in the service of the Plantation." The large majority of the men selected to come were artisans such as carpenters, shipwrights, wheelwrights, shoemakers, hunters and others whose labors would be of especial value in the establishment of a permanent settlement. The company was said (in a quatotion which Prince gives) to number "Sixty women and maids, 26 children, and 300 men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools, 140 head of cattle, &c., in the Lord Treasurer's warrant." The early spring days of 1629, must have been exceedingly busy ones for the promoters of this enterprise who were purchasing and loading supplies of all kinds. Space forbids us to give more than brief mention of the many articles which appear in the lists made out by Mr. Washburne the secretary. Great skill and foresight was displayed in the make-up of the cargoes. The ships were ballasted with "2 loads of chalk, 10 thousand of bricks, 5 chaldrons of sea-coals, nails, one ton of iron, 2 fagots of steel, 1 fodder (about 1600 to 2000 pounds) of lead, 1 barrel of red lead, with salt, sail-cloth and copper."

Articles of wearing apparel for 100 men were purchased which included 400 pairs of shoes, 300 pairs of stockings, 200 suits of doublets and hose, of leather, lined with oilskin leather, 100 waistcoats of green cotton, bound with red tape, 500 red knit caps and many other things in proportion. The soldiers were to wear the following uniforms of which one hundred were sent; 100 mandalions lined with white cotton, breeches and waist coats, and leather doublets and hose. For the military equipment of these hundred fighting men, they provided 3 drums, 2 ensigns, 2

partisans for captain and lieutenant, 3 halberds for three sergeants, 90 muskets of various kinds specified, 10 fowling pieces, 90 bandoliers for the muskets each with a bullet bag, 10 horn flasks for the long fowling-pieces, 100 swords and belts, 60 corslets, 60 pikes, twenty half pikes, 8 pieces of land ordnance for the fort, 12 barrels of powder, 900 pounds of shot and great shot in proportion to the ordnance.

The list of provisions included 45 tuns of beer, 22 hogsheads of beef, 40 bushels of pease, 10 firkins of butter and many other articles too numerous to mention.

Francis Higginson put us under deep obligations to him, when he wrote the account of this voyage which proved to be so important to the welfare and preservation of New England.

The beginning of this record contains so much of interest that I will quote from it as follows;

"A True Relacon of ye last voyage to New England made ye last Sumer, begun ye 25th of April being Saturday, Anno Doi 1629.

The company of New England consisting of many worthy gentlemen in ye citty of London, Dorchester & other places, ayming at ye glory of God, ye propagacon of ye gospell of Christ, ye conversion of ye Indians, & ye enlargemt of ye Kings maties dominions in America, & being authorised by his royall letters patents for yt end, at their very great costs & chardgs furnished 5 Ships to go to new England, for ye further setling of ye English plantacon yt had already begun there.

The names of ye 5 Shippes were as followeth. The first is called ye *Talbot*, a good & strong shipp of 300 tunnes, & 19 pieces of ordinance & served wth 30 mariners. This ship carried about an 100 planters, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinance, wth meale, oatemeale, pease, & all maner of munitio and provisio for ye plantacon for a twelve month. The second ye *George*, another strong ship also, about 300 tunnes, 20 pieces of ordinance, served wth about 30 mariners; her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 30 kyne, & some goates: also ther gad in her 52 planters & other provision. The 3d is called ye *Lyons whelpe*, a neate & nimble ship of 120 tunnes, 8 pieces of ordinance, carrying in her many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from dorchester & other places thereabouts, wth provision, and 4 goates.

The 4th is called ye *4 sisters*, as I heare of about 300 tuns, wch fayre ship carried many cattell wth passengera & provision.

The 5th is called ye *Mayflower*, carrying passengers and provision.

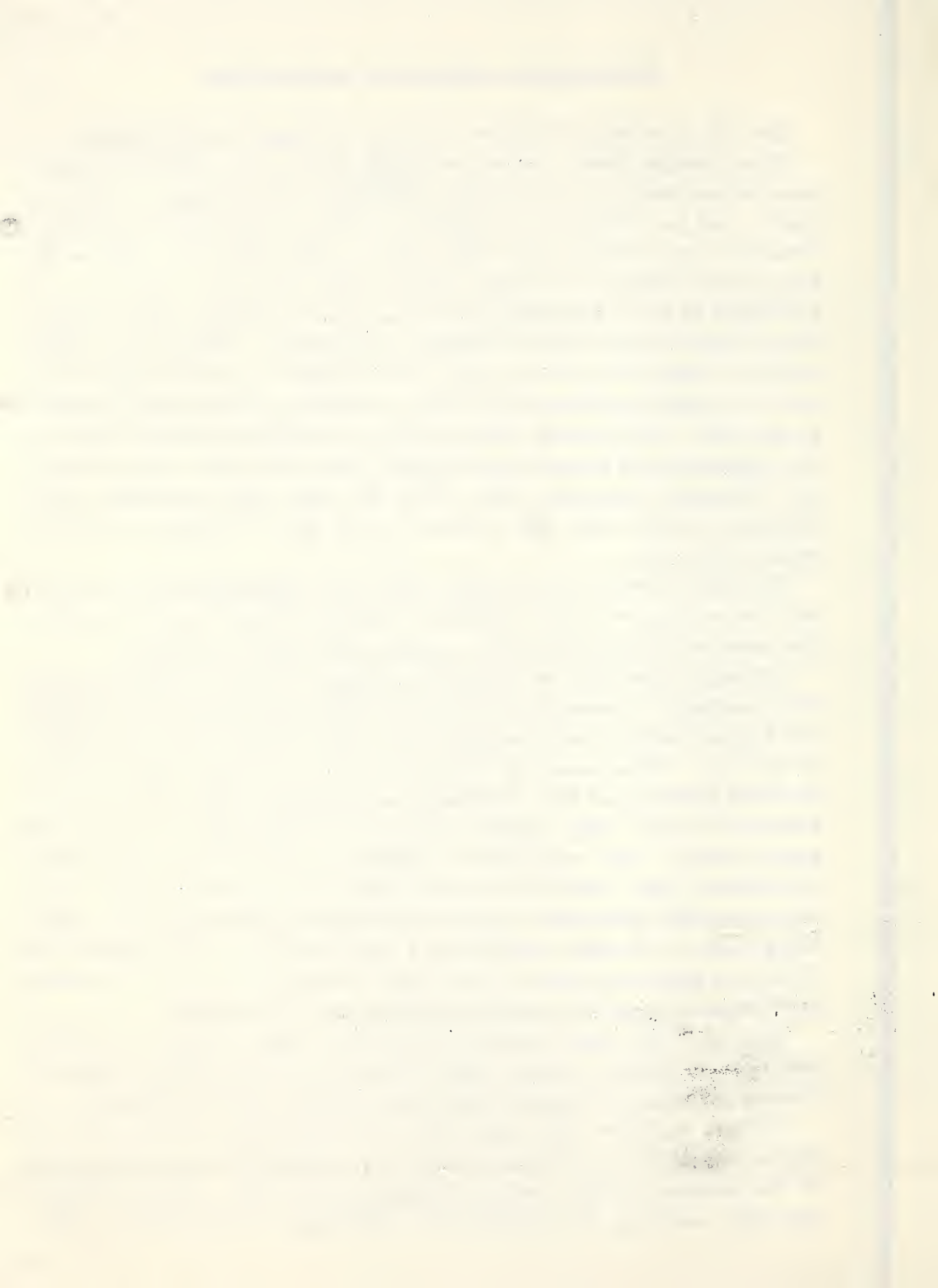
Now amongst these 5 ships, ye *George* having the speciall & urgent cause of hastening her passage sett sayle before ye rest about ye midst of April. And ye 4 Sisters & ye *Mayflower* being not thoroughly furnished, intended as we heard to sett forth about 3 weeks after us: But we yt were in ye *Talbot* & ye *Lions* whelp being ready for voyage by ye good hand of God's providence hoysed or sayle fro *Graues* and on Saturday ye 25th of April about 7 o'clock in ye morning. Having but a faynt wynd we could not go farre yt day, but at night wee ancred against *Lie wch* is 12 miles fro *graues end* & there we rested yt night & kept Sabbath ye next day." They slowly worked their way along the coast and May 5th Mr. Higginson and his wife and daughter Mary and others went on shore near *Yarmouth* remaining there while the ship added provisions until Saturday the 9th when they returned to the ship. The final start was made on the 11th.

The daily journal of the voyage which Mr. Higginson kept is exceedingly interesting but space forbids our quoting further from it excepting the record of the last day of the voyage which reads as follows;

"Monday (June 29) we came from *Capan*, to go to *Naimkecke*, the wind northerly. I should have told you before that the planters spying our English colours the Governour sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at *Capan*; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of *Naimkecke*. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behould so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many faire green pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the *George* to our great comfort then being come on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

June 30. The next morning the governor came aboard to our ship. and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house which we did accordingly."

Visitors to Salem will attest that first impressions of the place are eagerly sought by the inhabitants and we are pleased to record what some of the members of this company thought of the place. Francis Higginson after narrating the beauties and advantages of *Naumkeag*, wrote:



"Thus we see both Land and Sea abound with stores of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of Man's life," and Thomas Graves in a letter to England wrote; "Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I neuer came in a more goodly Country in all my life, all things considered:.... I never saw except in Hungaria, unto which I always paralell this countrie, in all or most respects, for everything that is heere eyther sowne or planted prospereth far better than in old England:.... The healthfulness of the countrie far exceedeth all parts that ever I have been in."

Mr. Higginson closed his "Relation of New England" with the following account;

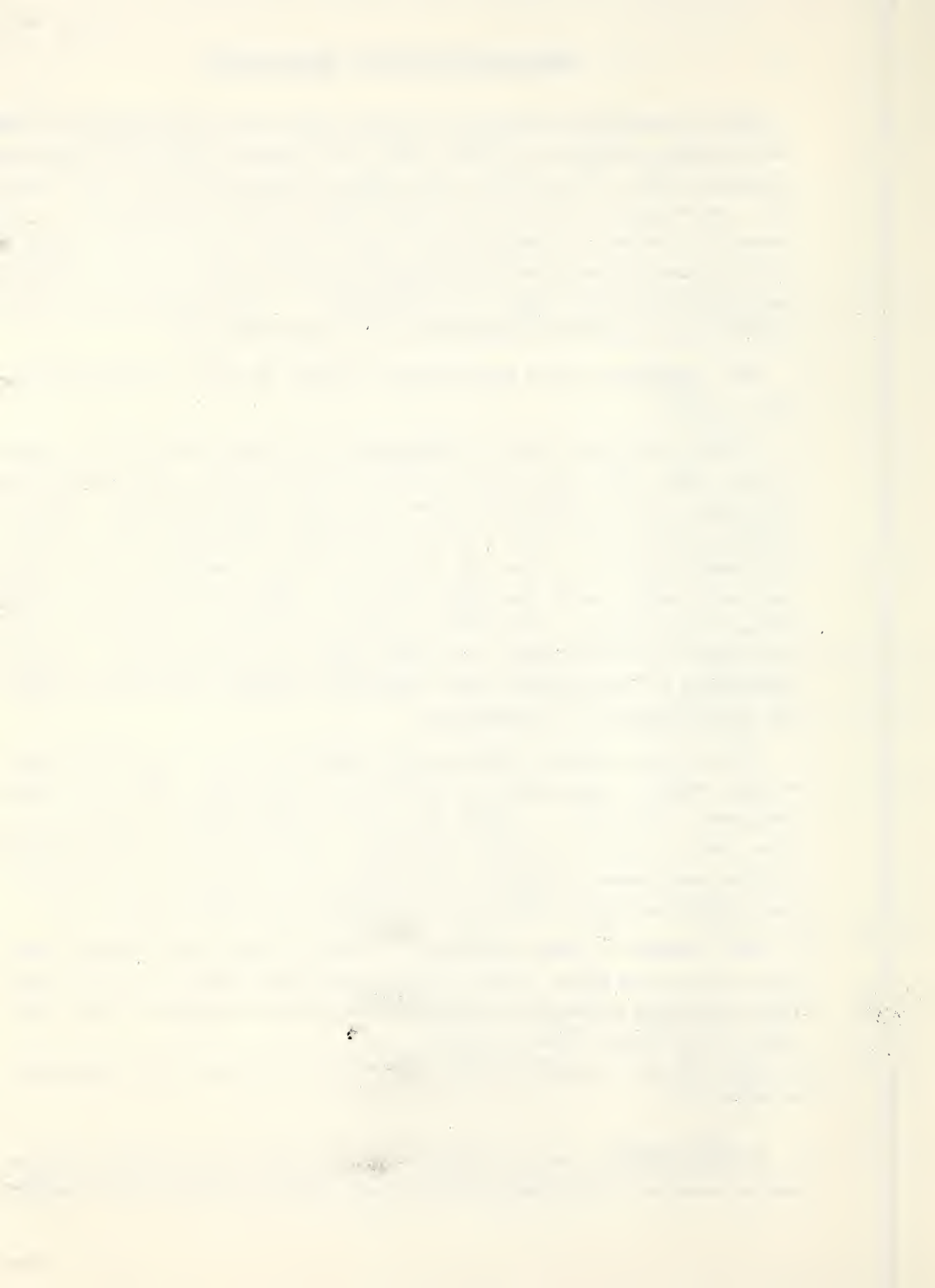
"When we came first to Nehum-kek, we found about half a score houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor. We found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which, by common consent of the old planters, were all combined together into one body politic, under the same Governor. There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Nehum-kek- now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Massathulets Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Cherton or Charlestown.

We that are settled at Salem make what haste we can to build houses, so that within a short time we shall have a fair town. We have great ordnance, wherewith we doubt not but we shall fortify ourselves in a short time to keep out a potent adversary. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all others, is that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught amongst us."

The account of what transpired at Salem during the following year has already been given in the address upon John Endicott and his company, while the settlement of Charlestown has been narrated in the "Settlers About Boston Prior to 1630."

We will now consider briefly, the men who came in this migration of 1629.

JOHN BAKER, went to Charlestown in 1629. It is probable that he was in some way connected with the large island in Salem harbor bearing



that name, for John Winthrop in his journal under date of June 12, 1630, wrote;

"As we stood toward the harbour, we saw another shallop coming to us; so we stood in to meet her, and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the islands."

THOMAS BEARD, aged 30 in 1629, unmarried, shoemaker, was recommended to have 50 acres of land, "as one that transports himself at his own charge." He brought with him in the Mayflower, "divers hides, both for soles and upper leathers, which he intends to make up in boots and shoes there in the country." He was made a freeman in Salem, May 10, 1643. In the following year he bought a house and land of Nicholas Shapleigh at Strawberry Bank, (Portsmouth). His will dated 16 Dec., 1678, was presented 25 March, 1679. Pope's "Pioneers of New Hampshire," Page 15.

ALICE BECKLY or BEGGERLY, wife of John Beggerly, who did not come over and from whom she was seeking a divorce. She was a member of Rev. Samuel Skelton's household in 1634 and had been in the country six years in 1636. Eben Futnam states in the Genealogical Bulletin, that as Alice Daniel, she married John Greene of Providence.

Goodman BLACK. A child of his "which had a consumpcon before it came to shipp, dyed," on the passage. We can find no further record of him.

WILLIAM BRACKENBURY was at Charlestown in 1629, and probably came with this company. He was a brother of Richard who came in 1628 with John Endicott. William died in 1668, aged 66 years. He was a baker and became one of the principal men of Malden. Freeman, 1630.

THOMAS BRUDE or BRAND was a cleaver of timber, "entertained by us in halves with Mr. Craddock, our Governor."

REVEREND FRANCIS BRIGHT came in the Lion's Whelp, and went with the party to Charlestown. His record has been given in "The Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630."

JOHN BROWNE, Gentleman and Mr. SAMUEL BROWNE his brother of Roxwell, England, came at their own charge. They were conformists to the Church of England and for attempting to form a church party in Salem were sent back to England by Governor Endicott. A full account of the controversy has been given in the paper upon "John Endicott and the Men Who Came to Salem in the Abigail in 1628."*

BARNABY CLAYDON aged twenty-three, came from Sutton, Bedfordshire. He was a wheelwright by trade. In the company's second general letter he was directed to work for Mr. Sharp. Felt in his "Annals" states that his house was in the angle in what is now Gedney's Court but the speaker has been unable to verify that statement. Mr. Sidney Perley in his admirable maps and notes on early Salem fails to confirm it.

RICHARD CLAYDON aged thirty-four brought his wife, daughter sister and the above-named brother with him. He was a carpenter and wheelwright by trade and came under contract to work, said document bearing date of March 12, 1628. He was to instruct the company's servants in the trade of a ploughwright.

EDWARD CONVERSE evidently came with this company for he was in Charlestown in 1629. He moved to Woburn later and lived in the south village, now Winchester, at the mill once called by his name. He died in that town, August 10, 1663, aged seventy-five. Further notes about him have already been published in the "Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630." Eben Putnam in the Genealogical Bulletin, calls attention to the fact that the line of descent given in the Converse genealogy is incorrect.

WILLIAM DADY, a butcher by trade was in Charlestown in 1630, and Wyman thinks that he may have come with the Higginson Company in 1629. He testified many years later that he aided in building the battery at Charlestown with bricks and sod. He was attorney for Mrs. Palsgrave before March 17, 1656. He died April 10, 1682, aged 77 years.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM DIXEY became one of the most prominent men in Béverly, holding many offices of honor and trust during his long life. He was made a freeman, May 14, 1634. He was authorized

to keep a "horse boat ferry," in (10) 1636. In that year he was called "Sergeant" Dixey in the Salem Town Records. In 1645, Ensign Dixey was chosen on the Grand Jury in Salem. In 1665 he was called "Lieutenant" in the Beverly Records and "Captain" in the same records in 1677. His will dated February 21, 1684, was probated June 24, 1690. His deposition, made in 1681, is one of the most valuable documents which have been handed down to us, throwing much light upon the relations of the first settlers of Salem and their Indian neighbors. It has been published in Felt's *Annals of Salem*, First Edition, and reprinted in "The Old Planters at Salem" an early publication of the Old Planters Society.

WILLIAM DODGE, was the son of John and Margery Dodge of Somersetshire. In the second letter of instruction to Governor Endicott, dated London, May 28, 1629, the secretary stated that Mr. White wished to have the following direction inserted; "That you would show all lawful favor and respect unto the planters that come in the Lion's Whelp, out of the Counties of Dorset and Somerset, that you would appoint unto William Dodge, a skilful and painful husbandman, the charge of a team of horses." He bought 200 acres of land 28 (7) 1644. His house was at the head of Bass River in Beverly, at which place he dammed the stream and established a mill. The old road leading down to it can still be made out near Balch Street and a portion of the dam is still intact. The cellar hole of his house has been easily made out until a few years ago when the site was levelled for the grounds of the new club house of the U. S. M. C. He became a prominent man in Beverly and died between 1685 and 1690.

WILLIAM EEDES, came as a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. He was a carpenter or wheelwright.

RICHARD EWSTEAD a wheelwright came commended by Mr. Davenport to work on shares for the company and Governor Craddock. In the company's letter he is described as "a very able man, though not without his imperfections. We pray you take notice of him and regard him as he shall well deserve." Eben Putnam calls attention to the fact that there was a "William Eustis" in Boston, later, of the next generation. The writer believes that the latter was in no way related to Richard.

GEORGE FARR was a shipwright, sent over under contract. He set-

tled at Lynn, and was a freeman in 1635. He deposed in 1657, aged 63. He died October 24, 1662.

HUGH GARRETT became an inhabitant of Charlestown in 1629 and was the tenth on the list of the first thirteen. He was a shoemaker and perished in a storm January 28, 1630-1. His daughter Hannah died "a fatherless child" 12 month, 1632.

MR. GOFFE is mentioned, (probably Deputy Governor Thomas Goffe) He never came over but his dog evidently started for in the journal of the voyage we read that on May 26th "Mr. Goffes great dogg fell over board & could not be recouered."

MR. THOMAS GRAVES the engineer was one of the most valuable and useful men of this migration. He was to "have his charges borne, out and home; being a man of experience in iron works, in salt works, in measuring and surveying of lands. and in fortifications, &c., in lead. copper, and alum mines." He was chosen a member of Governor Endicott's Council, April 30, 1629. He requested admission, October 19, 1630 and was made freeman, May 18, 1631. Wyman tells us that he lived in Charlestown near the Cambridge line in 1633. His valuable service in laying out the town of Charlestown has been narrated in the address upon the "Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630." He must not be confounded with Thomas Graves, mate of the Talbot who later was known as Rear Admiral.

THOMAS HANSCOMBE was brother-in-law of Richard Claydon and was mentioned as one of a number to come with him. We find no further record of him and do not know that he actually came.

RICHARD HAWARD from Bedfordshire, was mentioned as a man who would "well and orderly demean" himself. He was sent over with his family to Salem in 1629, by the Massachusetts Bay Company. He had a grant of a house plot in Boston, 19, (12) 1637-8, according to Pope in his *Pioneers of Massachusetts*.

HENRY HAUGHTON was the first Ruling Elder of the church at Salem. According to the instruction of the company he was to take Mr. Samuel Sharpe's place in various ways if the latter should be sick or absent. He died in the first winter, leaving one child.

REVEREND FRANCIS HIGGINSON the leader of this migration was the son of Reverend John Higginson, Vicar of Claybrooke, Leicestershire, and was baptized at that place August 6, 1586. He was educated at Jesus College, taking his B. A. degree in 1609 and his M. A. in 1613. He was ordained deacon September 25, 1614 and priest on the 8th of the following December. He was installed to the rectory of Barton-in-Fabis, Nottingham County and deanery of Brigham, which he resigned August 4, 1616. Mr. E. C. Felton states that it is certain that Francis Higginson, although he had the rectory of Barton-in-Fabis conferred upon him, was never inducted and therefore never received any of the fruits of the benefice nor, we may take it discharged any of the duties. His successor was instituted, on his resignation just a year afterwards, April 4, 1616. He further goes on to state that "The record of Higginson's institution states, in the accustomed form, that a mandate was sent to the Archbishop to induct him, so that failure to act upon it can only have arisen because Higginson himself did not seek induction." Later he was connected with the parish of St. Nicholas. Colonel Thomas Wentworth in his "Descendants of the Reverend Francis Higginson" states "it is clear that he became more and more dissatisfied with the Established Church as it then was, until finally he became 'a conscientious non-conformist.'" The story of his connection with the Massachusetts Bay Company has been given in the historical section of this address. He founded at Salem, the first church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and did us an invaluable service in his writings. He contracted consumption probably on board the ship from other cases which he mentions as occurring among the passengers, and died deeply lamented August 6, 1630. His son, Reverend John, later distinguished himself in his father's pulpit. Our late lamented president compiled an excellent genealogy of this distinguished family.

SIMON HOYTE evidently came with this company as his name appears in the list of the original thirteen in Charlestown. His record has been given in the address on the "Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630."

RICHARD INGERSOL came from Bedfordshire and was commended in the company's letter. He received from the town a grant of two acres for a house lot April 6, 1635, and in the following year eighty acres more.

December 23, 1639, an additional grant of twenty acres of meadow was added to this great meadow. "The 16th of the 11th mo. 1636, it is agreed that Richard Inkersell shall henceforth have one penny a time for every person he doth ferry over the north ferry, during the town's pleasure." He died in 1644 and his inventory shows that he owned two houses, 203 acres of land and a large herd of cattle. Of his many descendants the most celebrated one was Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch the eminent mathematician and navigator.

LAWRENCE LEECH. Reference was made to him in the Company's letter as follows; "We desire you to take notice of one Lawrence Leech, whom we have found a careful and painful man, and we doubt not but he will continue his diligence; let him have deserving respect." He requested admission October 19, 1630, and was admitted freeman, May 18, 1631. He served as one of the thirteen men in Salem and was given a grant of 100 acres by the town. This farm was located on "Rial Side." A way was laid out in 1657 from the meeting-house on Cape Ann side to his mill. He died in June 1662, aged between 82 and 85, "having been a useful and respectable citizen."

JOHN MEECH was in Charlestown in 1629 and probably came in this company. We know nothing further about him.

(**SYDRACH MILLER** "a cooper and cleaver; who demanding £45 for him and his man the first year, £50 a year the second and third year," was "held too dear for the Company to be at charges withal." This reference occurs in the records of the meeting of the Company held March 2, 1628 (-9). He is not referred to again and we do not know that he came. The writer believes that he did not.)

ROBERT MOULTON was the "chief" of the six ship-wrights sent by the Company. Soon after that, he removed to Charlestown and is believed to have resided on "Moulton's Point," the present site of the Navy Yard. He was made freeman May 18, 1631, was one of the first selectmen and was a representative to the General Court in 1634. He returned to Salem and represented that town in the General Court in 1637. In the same year he was disarmed as a friend of Wheelwright. His land in Salem was at the head of the North river on the southern shore and east of

what is now Boston Street. He probable built many vessels here. He died about 1655.

(GEORGE) NORTON. In the Company's letter to Governor Endicott we read "there is one Norton, a carpenter, whom we pray you respect as he shall deserve." Pope believes that this was "George" Norton who was made a freeman in Salem, May 14, 1634. He was a town officer. He removed to Gloucester and was one of those to whom the General Court gave permission to erect a village at Jeffrey's Creek (Manchester) May 13, 1642. He served as a deputy. In 1656, he leased the "Groton Farm" of Lucie, widow of Emanuel Downing. He removed to Wenham and died about 1659.

ABRAHAM PALMER was a merchant and a member of the Company in England. He adventured £50 in the joint stock and was one of the fourteen to sign the instructions to John Endicott, May 30, 1628. He came to England (in all probability with Higginson) and went to Charlestown where he became prominent. Further account of him will be found in the address upon the "Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630." He served as a sergeant in the Pequot war and did good service in the swamp fight.

WALTER PALMER was with Abraham among the thirteen first settlers of Charlestown. His record has also been given in the above mentioned address.

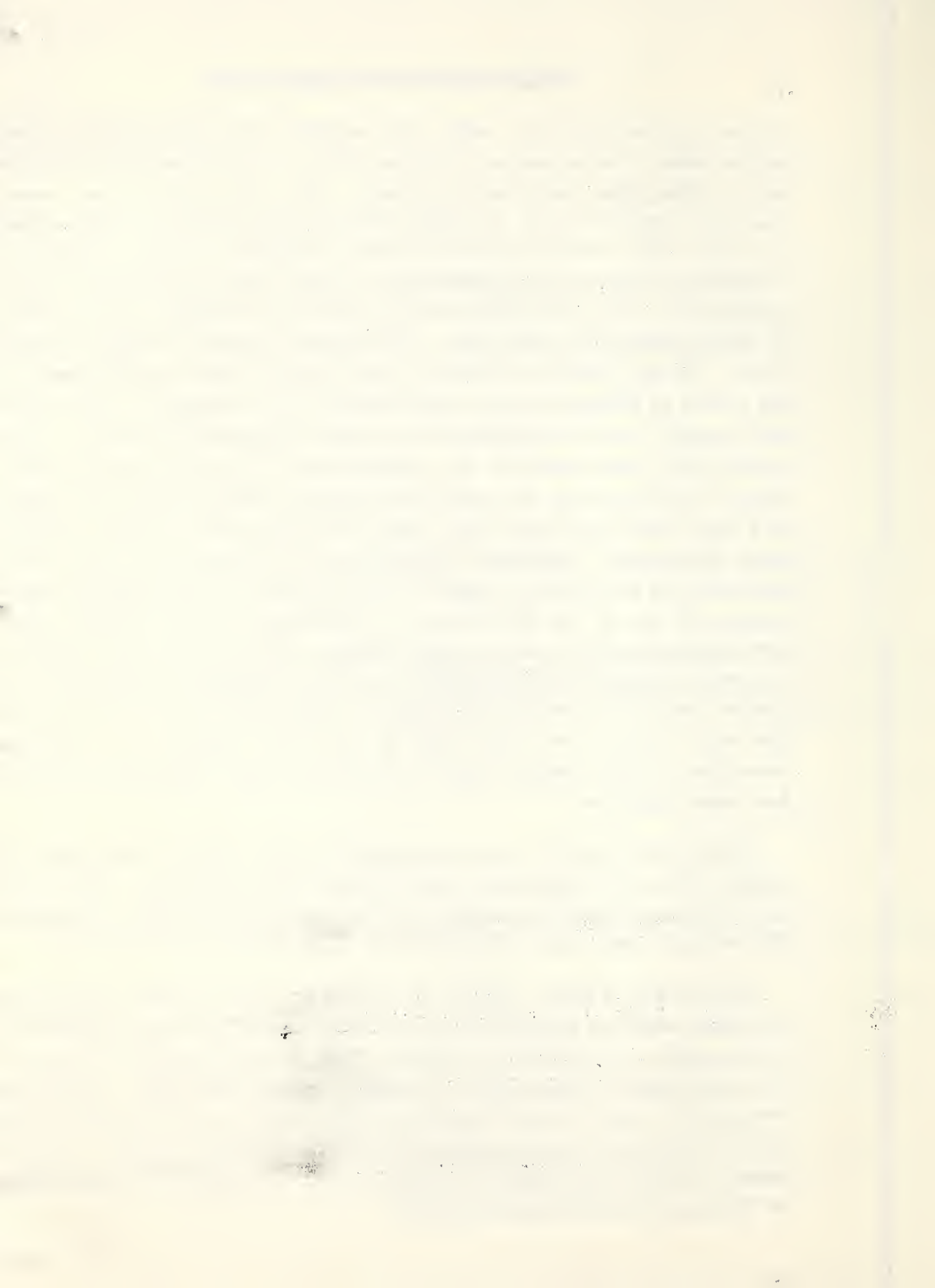
MR. RICHARD PALSgrave was a physician. His name appears third on the list of the first thirteen inhabitants of Charlestown, in 1629. He built a house on the neck in 1630 and had a grant of ten acres in 1637. He died about 1655 or 6. He came from Stepney, Middlesex, England.

JOHN PRATT, Surgeon. From the records of the Court of Assistants, held in London, March 5, 1629, we learn that an attempt was made to induce a surgeon to sail for Salem "A proposicon beeing made to intertayne a surgeon for the plantacon, Mr. (John) Pratt was propounded as an abell man vppon theis condicons, namely, That 40 pounds should bee allowed him, viz—for his chist 25 pounds, the rest for his own sallery for the first yeere, prouided he continue 3 yeeres, the Companie to bee at

charge of transporting his wiffe and (servant), haue 20 pounds a yeere for the other 2 yeeres, and to build him a howse at the Companie's chardge and to allott him 100 acres of ground. But if he stay but one yeere, then the Companie to bee at charge of his bringing back for England and he to leave his servant and chist for the Companie's saruice." From the "Proprietor's Records" of Cambridge, we learn that he purchased in that town, May 1, 1635, "one house with a garden & Backside" on the corner of Spring Street and Creek Lane. He sold this property in 1639 to Joseph Isack. He was called to account by the General Court for statements in his letters to England such as "this country was nothing but rocks, sand and marshes," and he apologized in a rather unsatisfactory manner. This apology has been printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, v. XVII, p. 126. He sailed from Boston with his wife, for Malaga, in a new ship of 400 tons, which was lost on the coast of Spain and they were all drowned. Governor Winthrop says, "This man was above sixty years old, an experienced surgeon, who had lived in New-England many years, and was of the first church at Cambridge in Mr. Hooker's time, and had good practice and wanted nothing. But he had been long discontented, because his employment was not so profitable to himself as he desired, and it is like he feared lest he should fall into want in his old age, and therefore he would needs go back into England (for surgeons were then in great request there by occasion of the wars) but God took him away childless."

ISAAC RICKMAN was recommended by Mr. Simon Whetcombe, to receive "diet and house-room at the charge of the Company." That body agreed however that they would pay £10 per annum for diet and lodging. He probably returned to Eng'and soon, as no more is heard of him.

WILLIAM RYALL (RIAL or ROYAL) was a cooper and cleaver of timber who was employed by the Company and Governor Craddock in equal shares. The district in Beverly lying to the eastward of Danvers river and north of Bass River is named for him—Rial Side. In 1636 he removed to what is now Yarmouth, Maine, and the river which flowed by his house has ever since bourn the name of Royal's River. He purchased a tract of land there of Gorges in 1643. He removed to Dorchester in 1675 and died there June 15, 1676.



JOHN SALES or SALE was one of the original thirteen at Charles-town. The following record regarding him was made in 1633:

"The summer this year proving short and wet, our crops of Indian corn, (for all this while we had no other,) was very small; and great want threatened us. At which time there happened in this town the first known thief that was notoriously observed in the country. His name was John Sales; who, having stolen corn from many people in this scarce time, was convicted thereof before the Court, and openly punished, and all he had by law condemned and sold, to make restitution. He was bound over to Mr. Coxeshall for three years and his daughter Phebe was also bound to the same man for 14 years. He ran away to the Indians, but came back January 30, 1634-35.

MR. SAMUEL SHARPE was a valuable man in the little colony having charge of the artillery. We first learn of him in the records of the Company in London, February 26, 1628 (-9) as follows; "For our five pieces of ordnance, long since bought and paid for, Mr. John Humphrey is entreated and doth promise forthwith to cause them to be delivered to Samuel Sharpe, who is to take care for having fit carriages made for them." March 3, we read; "Mr. Samuel Sharpe, with whom there hath been an agreement made in the behalf of the Company to give him £10 per year for three years, to have the oversight of the ordnance to be planted in the fort to be built upon the Plantation, and what else may concern artillery business to give his advice in; but for all other employments was left to be entertained (i. e. employed) by any other particular brethren of the Company, who for other occasions had entertained him already, and held not fit (proper) to be at further charge in that kind. The said Sharpe is also entertained to oversee the (servants) and employments of certain particular men of the Company. But for the general (Company's concern) presented a bill for three drums and other particulars, amounting to five pounds, nineteen shillings; which the treasurer hath order to pay."

A few days later Mr. Sharpe requested of the Company that "all or the better part of his salary might be paid him now, to provide him apparel withal; and if he should happen to die before he had deserved it, his said apparel should satisfy it. Upon debate whereof, it was thought fit that twenty pounds should be paid him; and this to be the Treasurer's warrant for payment thereof, upon his salary of £10 a year, for three years." At

a meeting held April 30, 1629, he was elected a member of Governor Endicott's Council. He was elected an assistant of the Company in England but being out of the country was not able to serve as he could not take the oath and Roger Ludlow was elected in his place, February 10, 1630. The Company intrusted to him the duplicate charter to be delivered to Governor Endicott and he also had charge of the Company's seal. Further evidence of the great confidence reposed in him was shown by the following instruction; "If, at the arrival of this ship, Mr. Endicott should be departed this life, (which God forbid,) or should die before the other ships arrive, we authorize you, Mr. Skelton, and Mr. Samuel Sharpe, to take care of our affairs, and to govern the people according to order, until further order."

Mr. Sharpe was to employ as much of his time as was necessary in the office of master-gunner and "the rest he is to follow other employments of our Governor's (i. e. Governor Craddock, whose agent he was) and other's, for whose employment he is particularly sent out." If any provisions were left "that was provided for the passengers accommodation." Mr. Sharpe was to have half for the use of Mr. Craddock and partners. The fort in which Mr. Sharpe set up the ordnance above mentioned was near what is now Sewall Street. His house was on what is now the north-westerly corner of the present Lynde and Washington streets, where the Odell Block stands. His land extended back to the present North street. He became Ruling Elder after the death of Henry Houghton in 1630. He requested admission as freeman October 19, 1630 and was admitted, July 3, 1632. He probably died about 1657 but his estate was not administered until 27 (6) 1666.

REVEREND SAMUEL SKELTON was baptized in 1592-3. He matriculated at Clare Hall, Cambridge University, as a sizer, July 7, 1608. He took his degree of B. A. in 1611 and M. A. in 1615. Mr. E. C. Felton who has made an exhaustive study of the Skeltons in England, states that; "It was not religious persecution which compelled Skelton to leave England. He was a puritan of the puritans but there is no evidence that he was ever brought in collision with the ecclesiastical authorities." Mr. E. C. Felton thinks it probable that Mr. Skelton while at Tattersholl was private chaplain to the Earl of Lincoln. Simon Bradstreet the younger, who because so important a figure in New England history was, it is said, as a youth, in the household of the Earl. In the letter to Governor Endicott the fol-

lowing is found; "one of them (the ministers) is well known to you, viz. Mr. Skelton, whom we have the rather desired to bear a part in this work, for that we are informed yourself have formerly received much good by his ministry." No one has as yet been able to find where or when the Governor had come under the influence of Mr. Skelton.

Mr. Skelton came in the ship *George Bonaventure* and arrived here on the 24th of June, and was chosen and ordained pastor, on the 20th of July, 1629. In 1630 he was granted all of the land east of what is now Summer street in Salem from the mill pond probably as far north as what is now Creek or Norman streets. His home was probably by the water near the present Mill street. We find in the records that "July 3, 1632, there is another neck of land, lying about three miles from Salem route, about 200 acres, granted to Mr. Samuel Skelton, called by the Indians *Wahquack* (now *Danversport*.) Also there is granted to Mr. Skelton one acre of land on which his house standeth, and ten acres more in a neck of land abutting on the south river, and upon Mr. Higginson's ground on the west. Likewise there is granted to Mr. Skelton two acres more of ground lying in Salem, abutting on Capt. Endicott's ground on the south." He desired admission as freeman, October 19, 1630, and was admitted May 18, 1631. His wife died March 15, 1631, and he died August 2nd, 1634. Edward Johnson described him as "a man of a gracious speech, full of faith, and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above to begin this great work of His, that makes the whole earth to ring again at the present day." In the County Court papers in Salem, the speaker found the following; "The ould house in Salem which once was Mr. Skelton's being in eminent danger of present falling to the endangering of the lives of Children & Cattell and others, ordered yt within Ten Days should, house fail to be taken downe the penantie of ffyfe pounds, etc., etc." (27th, 6th mo., 1644.)

REVEREND RALPH SMITH whose record was given in the address upon the "Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630" came with this company. Allusion is made to him in the first general letter of the Company to Governor Endicott, as follows: "Mr. Ralph Smith, a minister, hath desired passage in our ships; which was granted him before we understood of his difference in judgement in some things about our ministers. But his provisions for his voyage being shipped before notice was taken thereof, through many occasions wherewith those entrusted with this busi-

ness have been employed, and for as much as from hence it is feared there may grow some distraction amongst you if there should be any siding, although we have a very good opinion of his honesty, yet we shall not, [we] hope, offend in charity to fear the worst that may grow from their different judgements. We have therefore thought fit to give this order, that unless he will be comfortable to our government, you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." He came in the ship with Mr. Higginson, who refers to him as follows under date of May 21, 1629. "Thursday, there being two ministers in the ship, Mr. Smith & my selfe, we endeavoured together with others to consecrate the day as a solemne fasting & humiliacion to almighty God, as a furtheraunce of or present worke." The later records of Mr. Smith have been given in the previous address above referred to.

NICHOLAS STOWERS and

JOHN STRICKLAND, STICKLAND or STICKLING were both included in the original list of the inhabitants of Charlestown in 1629 and probably came with this company. Accounts of them have already been given in "The Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630."

HUGH TILLY came in the Lion's Whelp as a servant to Sir Richard Saltonstall. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed to help in setting up a saw mill. He removed to Yarmouth and died before November 3, 1648, for on that date his widow married at Nocett, Thomas Higgins.

RICHARD WATERMAN was a hunter. In the Company's letter we read the following directly after the words of commendation concerning Lawrence Leech which we have quoted: "The like we say of Richard Waterman, whose chief employment will be to get you good venison." He received payment in 1632 from Pynchon the treasurer, for killing a wolf. He was a proprietor and town officer in Salem where he lived until he was required, by an edict of the General Court, March 12, 1638, with other families of antinomians, to quit the colony. Young tells us that "He joined Roger Williams at Providence in October and became one of the founders of that city and of the Baptist church there, the first of the name in America. In January 1643, with Randall Holden and Samuel Gorton, he purchased of the Indians the whole tract of land called Shaw-

omet, (now Warwick), and in September was arrested there with the rest of Gorton's company, by order of the General Court of Massachusetts, and brought to Boston. (Some of his property was confiscated for charges, and he was bound over for later appearance.) After his discharge he returned to Providence. He was one of the commissioners for that town in the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1650, and one of the town magistrates in 1655. Savage states that he suffered monstrous injustice from Massachusetts, and gives the date of his death as October 28, 1680.

(JOHN WHITCOMB) who was in Dorchester as a proprietor in 1636-9 and later went to Scituate, may have been the "Mr. Whitcomb" who was to see the leather discharged at Salem in 1629. See Suffolk Deeds, I., xix.

MR. LAMBERT WILSON, surgeon, was mentioned in the Company's letter as follows; "We have entertained Lambert Wilson, chirurgeon, to remain with you in the service of the Plantafon; with whom we are agreed that he shall serve this Company and the other planters that live in the Plantation, for three years, and in that time apply himself to cure not only such as come from hence for the general and particular accounts, but also for the Indians, as from time to time he shall be directed by yourself or your successor and the rest of the Council. And moreover he is to educate and instruct in his art one or more youths, such as you and the Council shall appoint, that may be helpful to him, and, if occasion serve, succeed him in the Plantation; which youth or youths, fit to learn that profession, let be placed with him; of which Mr. Huggesson's son, if his father approve thereof, may be one, the rather because he hath been trained up to literature; but if not he then such other as you shall judge most fittest." Winthrop states that Mr. Wilson "our chief surgeon" was in the war with the Pequots in 1637.

The size of this company, composed as it was of a large number of men, skilled in divers occupations, and the great value of the large cargoes of much needed and very useful supplies, greatly strengthened the settlement. Many of the men who came, became prominent in the affairs of the town and colony and their descendants, prominent in many walks in life, are scattered all over this glorious land which they themselves ably assisted in founding.

MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS. MICHIGAN SERIES.

BY CHARLES A. FLAGG

- MORRISON, Owen, b. Coleraine; set. N. Y. 1820? Lenawee Port., 788.
- Stephen A., b. Danvers, 1815; set. Mich. 1837. Allegan Hist., 334.
- MORSE, Joseph B., set. N. Y., Mich. 1831. Genesee Port., 572.
- Lemuel, b. 1779; set. N. Y. 1810? O. Lenawee Port., 898.
- Lewis, b. Fitchburg, 1831; set. Mich. 1857. Lansing, 487.
- Lewis L., b. 1800? set. Mich. 1857, d. 1871. Lansing, 487.
- Lincoln, b. Fitchburg, 1833; set. Mich. 1857. Lansing, 487.
- Lydia, m. 1815? John Canniff of N. Y.; m. 2d, John Bird of Mich. Lenawee Port., 1200.
- Susanna, m. 1805? John Adams of N. H. Macomb Hist., 687.
- MORTON, Ambrose, b. 1757; set. N. Y. Kalamazoo Hist., 543.
- Ambrose, Jr., b. Stoughton, 1788; 1812 soldier; set. N. Y. Kalamazoo Hist., 543; Berrien Port., 246.
- Eleazer, b. 1786; set. N. Y. 1806? Mich. 1834. Berrien Hist., 197.
- Elijah, b. Hatfield, 1771; set. N. Y. 1815? Mich. 1834. Newaygo, 318.
- John, set. N. Y., Mich. 1834. Hillsdale Port., 655; Lenawee Port., 580.
- Maria, b. 1802; set. Mich. 1838; Washtenaw Hist., 504.
- MOSELEY, Augustus C., b. Pittsfield, 1835; set. Mich. 1840. Branch Twent., 729.
- Sarah, m. 1840? Maj. R. J. Barry of Mich. Jackson Port., 471.
- Thomas, set. Mich. 1840. Branch Twent., 729.
- Thomas, b. Pittsfield, 1794; set. Mo., N. Y., Mich., 1836 or 1841. Branch Port., 524; Branch Twent., 250.
- MOSLEY, William Augustus, b. Westfield, 1815; set. Mich. Branch Twent., 251.
- William G., of Westfield; set. Mich. 1837. Grand Rapids Hist., 188; Grand Rapids Lowell, 115.
- MOSES, Byron, set. Mich. 1850. Clinton Port., 590.
- MOSHER, Stephen M., set. N. Y. 1820? Hillsdale Port., 894.
- MOTT, Adam, b. near New Bedford; set. N. Y., Mich. 1829. Lenawee Port., 1060.
- MOTTLES, Eunice, b. 1789; m. Jeremiah Van Wormer of N. Y. and Mich. Jackson Port., 863.
- MOULTON, Nathaniel, set. N. Y. 1790? Lenawee Port., 1103.
- MOWRY, Elisha, of Berkshire Co., set. N. Y. 1816. Washtenaw Hist., 1026.
- J. B., b. Berkshire Co., 1809; set. N. Y., 1816, Mich. 1831. Washtenaw Hist., 1026.
- MUNGER, Luke, b. Boston; set. O. Berrien Hist., 501.
- MUNN, Horace, b. 1790? set. N. Y. Lenawee Port., 1020.
- Israel, set. N. Y. 1800? Lenawee Port., 1057.
- MURDOCK, Martha, b. Framingham, 1825; set. N. Y. 1828, Mich. 1839; m. 1st, 1845 John C. Ellis of Mich.; m. 2d, 1855, Dennis Warner. Washtenaw Hist., 868; Washtenaw Port., 524.

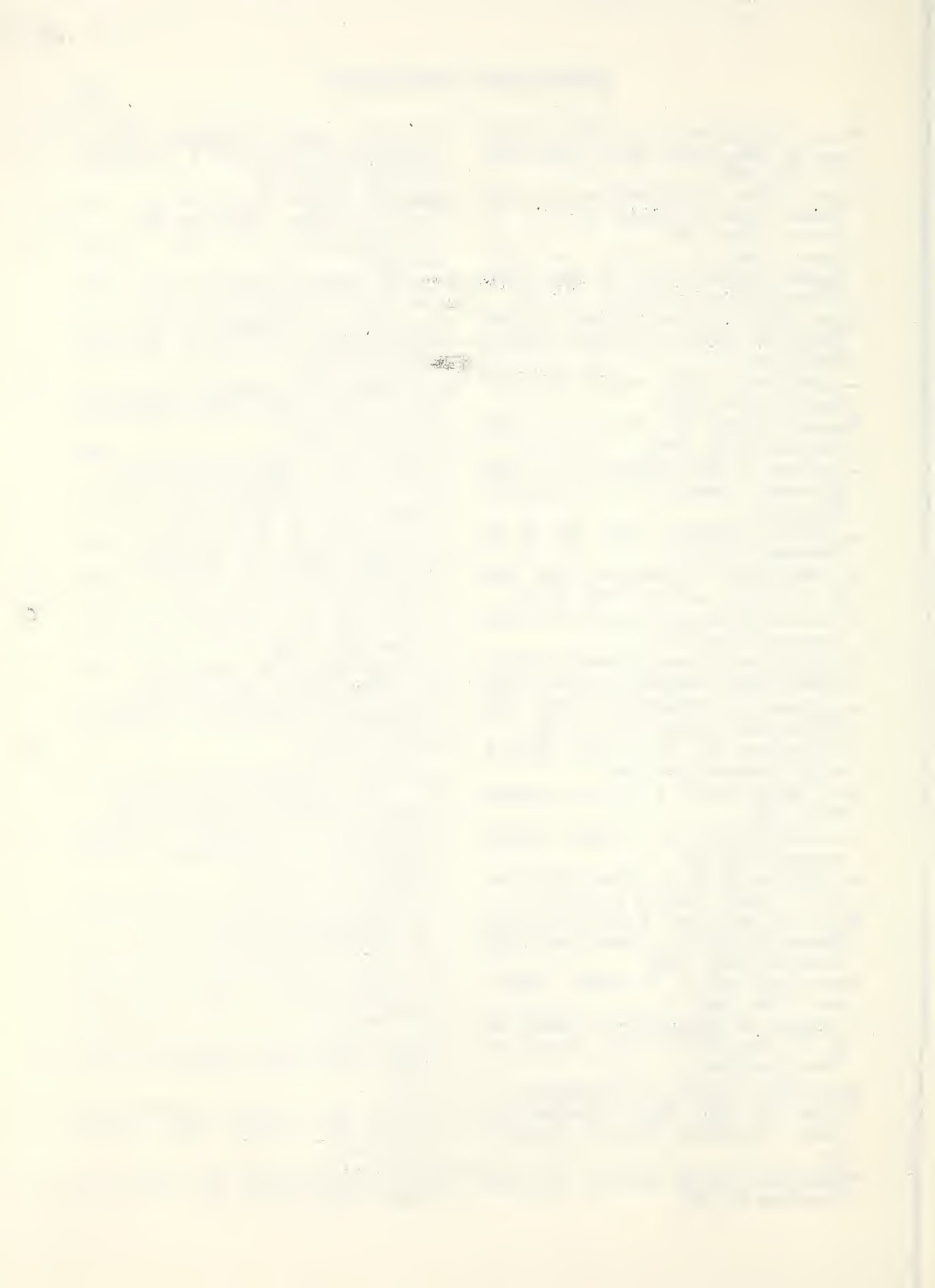


- Samuel, b. Westminster: set. N. Y. 1828. Mich. 1839. Washtenaw Hist., 868
- Samuel W., set. Mich. 1850? Clinton Port. 527.
- MURPHY, Daniel M., b. Erving. 1854: set Mich. 1876. Clinton Port., 613.
- MUSSEY, Dexter, b. Worcester. 1811; set Mich. 1836. Macomb Hist., 225. 667.
- MYERS, Mercy, b. Middlesex Co., 1787; m 1810? Stephen Fenton of N. Y. Lenawee Illus., 166.
- NASH, Andrew B., set. N. Y., Mo., 1870. Lenawee Hist. I, 403.
- Augustus W., set. N. Y., 1840? Mich., 1854. Allegan Twent., 111; Kalamazoo Port., 563.
- Ebenezer, of Longmeadow; set. Conn., 1785? St. Clair, 305.
- Harrison, set. N. Y. before 1836. Branch Port., 311.
- Joel, set. N. Y., 1830? Kent, 1341.
- Jonathan E., b. Greenfield? 1820; set. Mich., 1846. Grand River, 246 and appendix, 47; Kent, 1341.
- NEEDHAM, Johanna, b. Boston. 1817; m. 1839 James J. Newell of Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 392.
- NELSON, Eunice, m. 1810? Levi Hilton of N. Y. and Mich. Oakland Port., 582.
- Ezra T., b. Milford, 1824; set. Mich., 1842 or 1845. Grand Rapids Lowell, 463; Kent, 1089.
- George C., b. Milford, 1812; set. Mich., 1834. Grand Rapids Hist., 196.
- Ichabod S., b. Deerfield; set. Mich., 1830. Cass Twent., 608.
- James M., b. Milford, 1810; set. Mich. 1836. Grand Rapids Hist., 182; Grand Rapids Lowell, 109; Kent, 1090.
- Josiah, b. 1773; set. N. Y. Gratiot, 695.
- Josiah, set. N. Y., 1800? Ionia Port., 405.
- NEWBURY, Edward C., b. Amherst, 1838; set Mich., 1840. Macomb Hist., 668.
- NEWCOMB, Hezekiah, of Bernardston; set. N. Y., 1830? Detroit, 1163; Wayne Land., 783.
- NEWELL, Hannah, b. 1798; m. Conrad House of N. Y. and Mich. Clinton Port., 934.
- James J., b. Boston, 1816; set. Canada, 1818; N. Y., 1830; Mich., 1837. Lenawee Hist. II, 392.
- John, b. Lynnfield, 1794; set. Canada, 1818. Lenawee Hist. II, 391.
- Rhoda, b. Boston, 1772; m. Samuel Rogers of Mass. and N. Y. Lenawee Hist. II, 330.
- NEWTON, Josiah, set. Vt., 1810?; 1812 soldier. Oakland Port., 935.
- Lucy, m. 1825? Evert Hawley of N. Y. Mecosta, 443.
- NICHOLS, Cynthia, m. Henry King of O. Berrien Port., 672.
- Nathan, b. Berkshire Co.; 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Clinton Port., 205.
- Orna, b. 1800; m. 1818? Aretus Gilmore of O. Clinton Port., 584.
- Soloma, m. 1835? Palmer Marsh of N. Y. and Pa. Midland, 313.
- NICKERSON, Elkanah, of Harwich; b. 1806; set. Mich., 1867. Berrien Hist., 203.
- Lewis, b. near Boston; set. N. Y., Mich., 1831. Hillsdale Port., 588.
- Lewis, set. N. Y., 1810?; Mich., 1830. Lenawee Port., 1032.
- NIGHTINGALE, Daniel, b. 1778; set. N. H., Mich., 1837. Genesee Port., 589.
- NIMOCKS, Roland, set. N. Y., Mich., 1843 Hillsdale Port., 452.
- NIMS, Dwight B., b. Conway, 1807 or 1808; set. N. Y., 1833, Mich., 1835 or 1865. Homer, 73; Jackson Hist. 156; Muskegon Port., 262.
- Reuben, b. Berkshire Co., 1794; set. Vt., Mich., 1855. Macomb Hist. 485; Macomb Past, 219.
- NOBLE, Abby, of Williamstown; m. 1825 George Landon of Mich. Monroe, 431.
- Charles, b. Williamstown, 1797; set. O., Mich., 1818 or 1820. Detroit, 1224; Monroe, 151.
- Daniel, b. Williamstown, 1807; set. Mich., 1830. Monroe, 166.



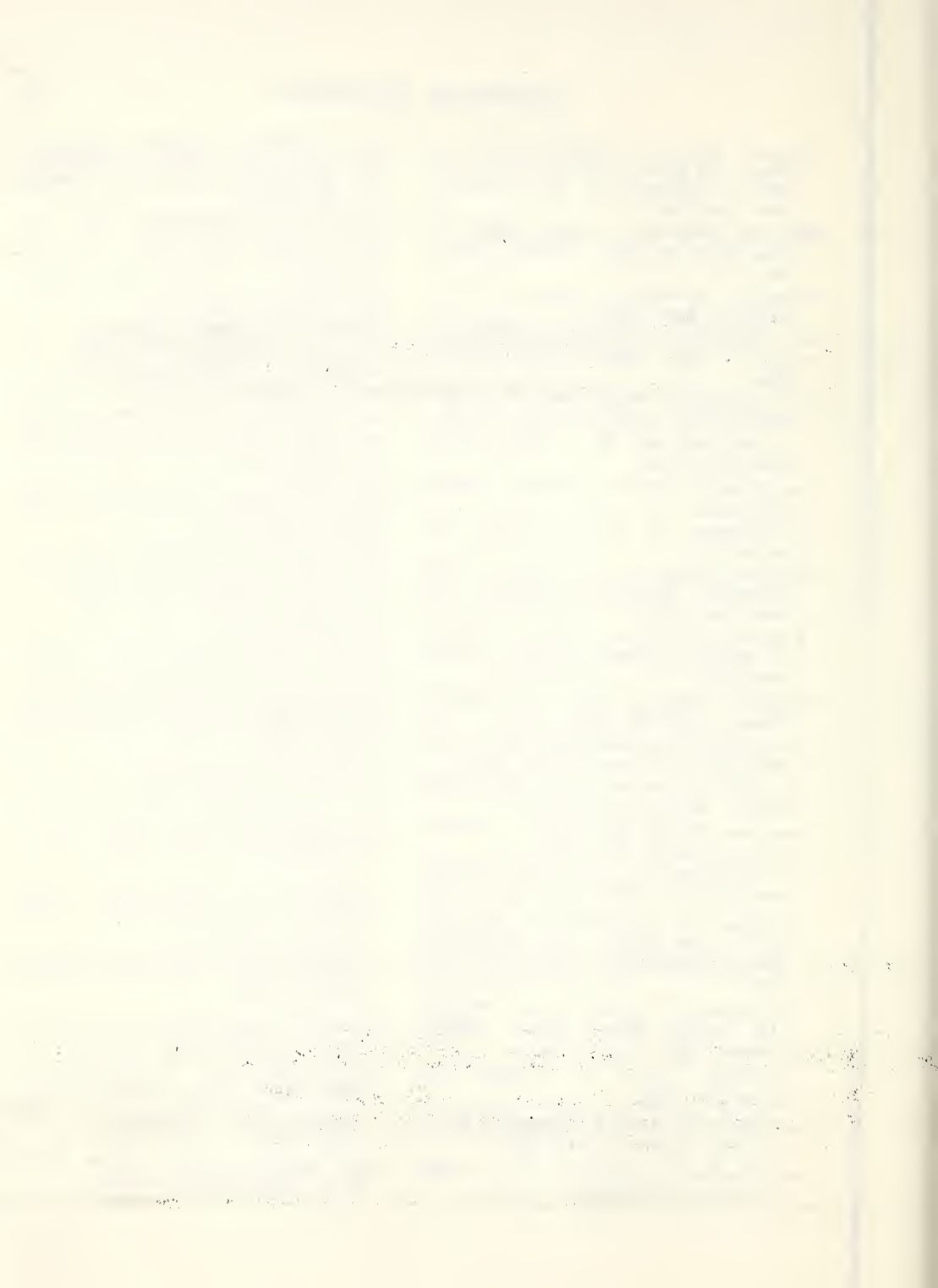
- David A., b. Williamstown, 1802; set. Mich., 1831. Monroe, 250.
- Deodatus, of Williamstown; set. Mich., 1832. Detroit, 1224.
- Levi, b. Blandford, 1792; set. N. Y., 1810? Hillsdale Port., 335; Ionia Port., 577.
- Nancy, m. 1800? Jacob L. Lomis of N. Y. Oakland Biog., 526.
- William A., b. Williamstown, 1819; set. Mich., 1833. Monroe, 167.
- NORRIS, John C., set. N. Y., Mich., 1837. Hillsdale Port., 457.
- NORTHAM, Frances E., b. 1816; m. Cyril Adams of Mich. Jackson Hist., 1134.
- Samuel K., b. Williamstown, 1824; set. Mich., 1839. Northern M., 397.
- NORTHRUP, Lydia A., b. Cambridge, 1810; m. David Wright of Mich. Kent, 793.
- NORTON, John, set. N. Y., 1805? Mich., 1823; d. 1832. Oakland Biog., 163; Oakland Hist., 151; Oakland Port., 301.
- Trumbull, set. N. Y., Mich., 1830. Branch Port., 385.
- NOWLEN, Sophia, of New Marlboro; m. 1817? Philo C. Fuller of N. Y. and Mich. Grand Rapids City, 178.
- NUTTING, Abbie B., m. 1831, Dauphin Brown of Mich. Kalamazoo Hist., 482.
- Ransom, b. Leverett, 1818; set. Mich., 1853. Kalamazoo Port., 786.
- NYE, Nathan, b. Salem, 1770?; set. N. Y., 1800? Macomb Hist., 834.
- OAKS, Daniel, b. Worcester Co., 1835; set. Mich., 1855. Osceola, 329.
- OLDS, Amanda, m. 1840 Israel Hale of Mass., Mich. and Ohio. Lenawee Port., 422.
- Daniel, Revolutionary soldier; set. O., 1812? Mich. Jackson Port., 428.
- Hanford, set. N. Y., 1810? Wash-tenaw Hist., 1269.
- James, set. O., 1810? Mich., 1830. Lenawee Port., 1073.
- Lois, b. near Pittsfield; m. 1815? Benaiah Jones, jr., of O. and Mich. Jackson Port., 428.
- Martin, b. Bolton; set. N. Y., O., Mich., 1834. Oregon. Branch Hist., 268.
- OLIVE, Susan, m. 1815? Adgate W. Collins of O. and Iowa. Bay Gansser, 421.
- OLIVER, David, b. Lynn, 1787; set. O., 1849. Mich. Gratiot, 600.
- John, b. 1790; set. N. Y. Jackson Hist., 1108.
- OMANS, Thomas G., 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., Mich., 1830. Kent, 687.
- ORMSBY, Lysander, b. Westhampton, 1815; set. Mich., 1837. Lenawee Port., 306.
- OSBORN, Asa, b. Berkshire Co., 1775; set. N. Y., 1791 or 1807., Mich., 1836. Lenawee Hist. I, 141; Lenawee Port., 713.
- James, b. Colerain, 1793; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich. 1866. Lenawee Hist. I, 168; Lenawee Port., 261.
- Joel, of Berkshire Co., set. N. Y., 1791. Lenawee Hist. I, 141.
- Richard, b. Lanesboro; set. N. Y., Mich., 1835. Ingham Port., 843.
- Thomas, b. Loraine, 1784; set. N. Y., Mich., 1848. Lenawee Hist. I, 96; Lenawee Port., 421.
- OSBORNE, David L., b. Salem, 1813; set. Mich., 1836. St. Clair, 589.
- PACKARD, Amasa, b. Bridgewater, 1788; set. O., 1832. Berrien Hist., facing 434.
- Bartimeus, b. 1769; set. N. Y., 1790? Lenawee Illus., 292.
- Benjamin, b. Bridgewater, 1760; set. Vt., 1790? St. Joseph, 83.
- Elizabeth, m. 1840? Hiram Baldwin of N. Y. Genesee Port., 889.
- John F., set. N. Y., 1800? Wash-tenaw Hist., 624.
- Laura A., b. Plainfield; m. 1859 Alfred S. Packard of Mich. Berrien Hist., 439; Kalamazoo Port., 278.
- Vesta, m. 1770? Joseph Bailey of Mass. and N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 299.
- William, b. Plainfield, 1808; set. N. Y., O., Mich. Berrien Hist., facing 434.
- PADDOCK, Ira, b. N. Y., 1788; set. Berkshire Co., Mass., N. Y., Mich. Branch Port., 453.
- PAGE, Hale W., b. Shirley, 1816; set. Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 867.

- PAINE, Edward W., b. S. Hadley, 1839; set. Ill, 1860, Mich., 1866. Grand Rapids City, 924.
- PAINE, Electa, of Williamsburg; m. 1790? Josiah Frost of Mass. and N. Y. Jackson Port., 856.
- PALMER, Lydia, b. Leyden; m. 1800? Samuel Coman of N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 700.
- PARK, Eliza A., b. Southbridge; m. 1850? Chancy R. Church of Mich. Jackson Port., 197.
- William, b. 1791; set. N. Y., 1815? Saginaw Port., 636.
- PARKER, Calvin, set. N. Y.; d. 1834. Hillsdale Port., 800.
- Chloe, b. New Bedford; m. 1795? Ebenezer Jenney of Vt. Macomb Hist., 731.
- Ezra, b. Newton, 1731; set. N. H. Northern P., 457.
- Farrington, b. Weston, 1776; set. N. Y., 1791. Lenawee Hist. II, 71.
- Ira, b. S. Adams; set. N. Y., 1815? Lenawee Hist. I, 176.
- Isaac, of Boston; bought land in Mich., 1836. Allegan Hist., 270, 293.
- James, b. Hartford? 1788; set. Mich., 1830. Macomb Hist., 757.
- Jonathan D., set. Mich., 1837; d. 1888. Genesee Port., 995.
- Joshua, set. N. Y., 1795? Lenawee Port., 784.
- Timothy, set. N. Y., 1810? Washtenaw Port., 533.
- William M., b. N. Adams, 1779; set. N. Y., 1793. Oakland Port., 291.
- PARKMAN, Phebe, b. Enfield; m. 1825? Bereah H. Lane of Mass and Mich. Lenawee Port., 1098.
- PARKS, Asa, set. N. Y., 1807. Washtenaw Hist., 1309.
- Ashley, b. Berkshire Co., 1802; set. N. Y., 1807, Mich., 1835. Washtenaw Hist., 504, 1309.
- PARMATER, Zeviah, of Northboro; b. 1805; m. 1826 David Blackmer of Mass. and Mich. Monroe, appendix, 35.
- PARMATUR, Charles, set. N. Y., 1810? Northern M., 347.
- PARMENTER, Lydia, b. Oakham, 1792; m. Samuel D. Wells of N. Y. and Mich. Macomb Hist., 740.
- PARMETER, Luther L., b. Orange, 1815; set. N. Y., 1822. Newaygo, 328.
- Nathaniel, set. N. Y., 1822. Newaygo, 328.
- PARSONS, Andrew, b. Newburyport, 1782; set. N. Y. Branch Port., 133.
- Caroline, of Sandisfield; m. Rev. Water Warren who was b. 1800. Berrien Port., 820.
- Chester, b. Sandisfield, 1799; set. N. Y., 1802, Mich., 1826. Washtenaw Hist., 504, 1405.
- David, b. 1776; set. N. Y., 1800? Mich., 1844. Oakland Port., 554.
- E. W., b. Berkshire Co., 1830; set. Mich., 1833. St. Clair, 590.
- James M., b. W. Springfield, 1810; set. Mich., 1864. St. Clair, 120.
- John, set. N. Y., 1802; d. 1813. Washtenaw Hist., 1405.
- John, set. N. Y., Mich., 1826. Washtenaw Hist., 1434.
- Jonathan, b. W. Springfield, 1820; set. Mich., 1835. St. Clair, 121.
- Melissa, b. Belchertown, 1800; m. Warren Isham of N. Y. and Mich. Detroit, 1157.
- Orrin, b. Sandisfield, 1794; set. N. Y., 1802, Mich., 1826. Washtenaw Hist., 1371; Washtenaw Past, 576.
- Philinda, b. Conway; m. Marvin Gaston of N. Y. and Mich., d. 1883. Ingham Port., 687.
- Sarah, of Granville; m. 1824 Samuel W. Hamilton of Mass. and Mich. Homer, 45; Mecosta, 322.
- PARTRIDGE, Levi W., b. Pittsfield, 1851; set. Mich., 1880. Wayne Land, appendix, 142.
- PATCH, Anson B., b. 1814; set. Mich., 1840? Ionia Port., 400; Macomb Hist., 745.
- PATRICK, Asa, Jr., of Hampden Co., bought land in Mich., 1836. Allegan Hist., 269.
- PAYNE, Daniel, set. N. Y., 1830? Mich., 1836. Clinton Port., 267.



- PAYNE, Hiram, set. N. Y., 1825? Kent, 1266.
 — Stephen, set. N. Y., 1830. Lenawee Port., 924.
- PEABODY, David, set. N. H., 1780? Calhoun, opposite 112.
- PEARSON, William, Revolutionary soldier; set. Canada. Mecosta, 444.
- PEASE, Orlo A., set. N. Y., 1840? Saginaw Port., 489.
 — Warren, set. Mich., 1832. Washtenaw Hist., 1348.
- PEASHOT, Sarah; m. 1800? Benajah H. Granger of Mass., N. Y., and O. Branch Port., 597.
- PECK, Sarepta, m. 1820? Daniel F. Bramble of N. Y. and Mich. Branch Port., 318.
 — W. H. b. Fair Haven, 1853; set. Mich. 1878. Midland, 279.
- PECKENS, David, 1812 soldier; set. N. Y. Washtenaw Port., 405.
- PEEBLES, David, set. N. Y., 1810? Washtenaw Hist., 1032.
- PEETS, Charles S., set. Canada, 1825? Newaygo, 352.
- PEIRCE, Francis, b. Waltham; set. Pa., 1840? Mecosta, 522.
- PEIRSON, Levi R., b. Richmond, 1827; set. Mich., 1849. Lenawee Port., 710.
- PENNELL, John, b. 1796; set. N. Y., 1825. Kent, 1301.
- PENOYER, Jacob, of Lee, b. 1774; set. N. Y. Genesee Hist., 364.
- PEREN, Lucy, m. 1798 Ezra Carpenter, Jr. of N. Y. and Mich. Washtenaw Port., 403.
- PERKINS, Cyrus E., b. Lawrence, 1847; set. Mich. 1854. Grand Rapids City, 336.
 — George, b. Plymouth; set. Mich., 1831. Macomb Hist., 801.
- PERRIN, Friend, set. Mich., 1834. Wayne Chron., 76.
- PERRY, Betsey, m. 1800? James L. Fenner of N. Y. Kalamazoo Port., 607.
 — Chester, b. 1801; set. N. Y., Mich., 1824. Genesee Port., 944.
 — Daniel, set. N. Y., 1820? Mich. 1832. Jackson Hist., 835.
- PERRY, Elizabeth, b. 1760; m. Ezra Parker of Conn. and Mich. Oakland Port., 292.
 — Sallie, m. 1820? Martin Durkee of Mass. and O. Ionia Port., 702.
 — Sarah, b. Beverly, 1815; m. David Taggart. Branch Port., 316.
 — William, b. Concord, 1790? set. N. Y. Clinton Port., 716.
- PERSONS, Festus, b. Chester; set. N. Y. 1815? Newaygo, 382.
- PETERS, G. W., set. N. Y., 1820? Mich. 1826. Washtenaw Hist., 863.
- PETERSON, Polly P., m. 1830? Lewis Snyder of Mich. Jackson Hist., 889.
 — Reuben, b. Boston, 1862; set. Mich., 1890. Grand Rapids Hist., 207; Grand Rapids Lowell, 711.
- PETTIBONE, Rosewell, set. N. Y., Mich., 1827. Hillsdale Hist., 256.
- PETTIS, Edward, b. Pittsfield, 1818; set. Mich., 1826. Kent, 512.
 — Eliza T., m. 1837. Thomas J. Hamilton of Mich. and Ia. Clinton Past. 215.
- PHELPS, Alfred, of Pittsfield; set. Mich., 1828. Oakland Hist., 287.
 — Benjamin, of Pittsfield; set. Mich., 1825. Oakland Hist., 286.
 — Edwin, b. Pittsfield, 1828; set. Mich., 1833. Oakland Biog., 687; Oakland Port., 640.
 — Elijah, set. Mich., 1831. Macomb Past., 316.
 — Elnathan, b. Pittsfield, 1799; set. Mich., 1833. Oakland Hist., 116; Oakland Port., 639.
 — Huldah A., b. 1826; set. Mich., 1830. Washtenaw Port., 266.
 — Josiah L., b. 1814; set. Mich., 1831. Macomb Past., 316.
 — Mary E., of Springfield; m. 1867. George C. Wetherbee of Mich. Detroit, 1172.
 — Norman, set. Mich., 1830. Washtenaw Port., 266.
 — Paulina, m. 1818. John Everett of N. Y. and Mich. Washtenaw Port., 353.

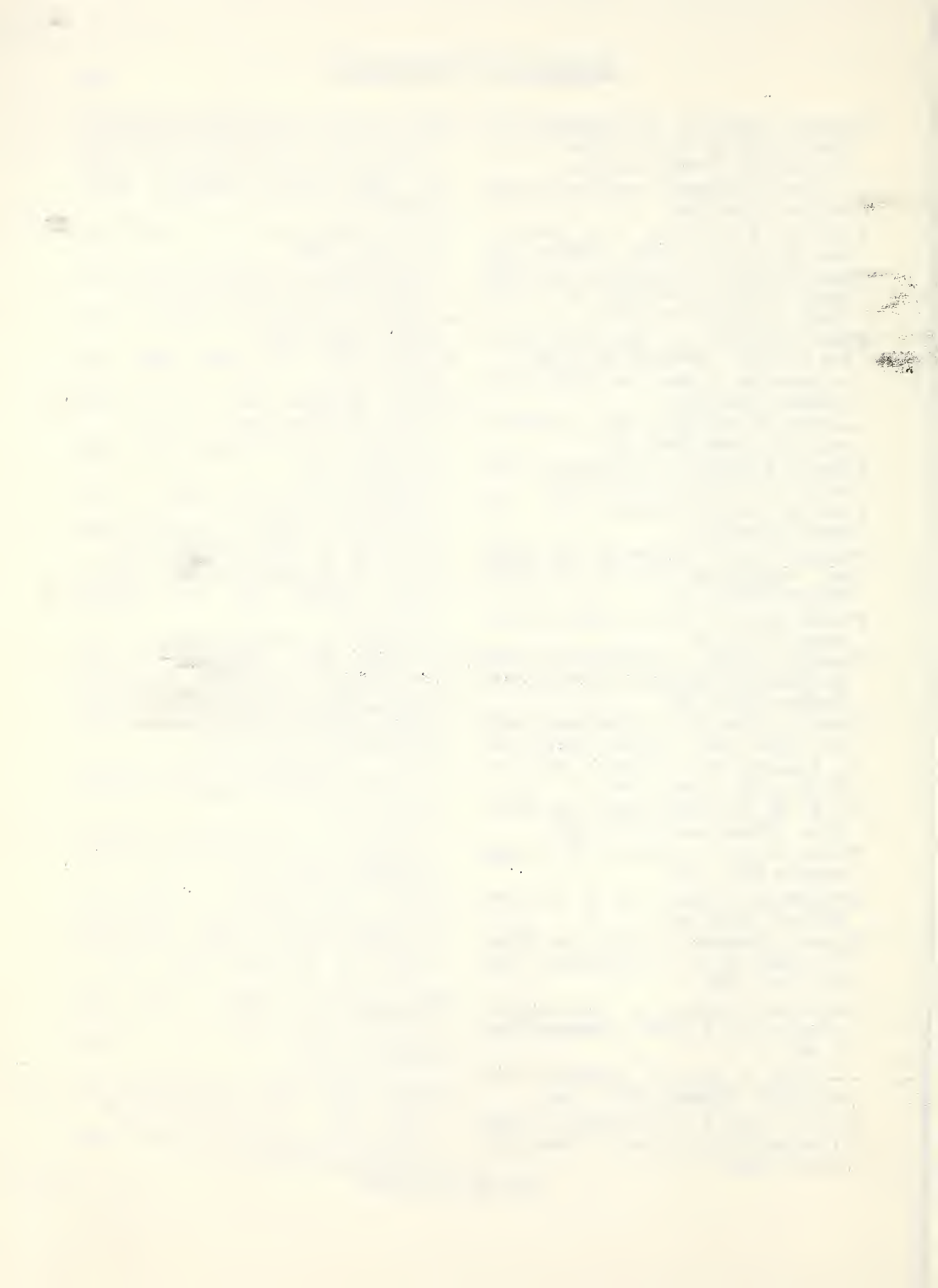
- PHELPS**, Rhoda, b. Pittsfield, 1794; m. 1815 or 16, Johnson Niles of N. Y. and Mich. Oakland Hist., 283, 295; Oakland Port., 894.
- PHILIPS**, Malaney, m. 1820? James W. Wadsworth of Mich. Allegan Twent., 199.
- PHILLIPS**, Abiathar, b. 1774; set. N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 665.
- Abiathar, b. Franklin Co., 1804; set. N. Y., Mich., 1868. Hillsdale Port., 665.
- Alanson, b. 1804; set. Me., 1830? Mich., 1835. Lenawee Hist. II, 336.
- Jonathan, set. N. Y., 1800? Oakland Port., 882.
- Zebedee, set. N. Y., 1825? Ingham Port., 495.
- Zebulon, set. N. Y.; d. 1833. Isabella, 287.
- PHIPPEN**, Mary L., b. Lynn; m. 1826. Thaddeus Hampton of Mich. Berrien Port., 488.
- PICKERING**, Rebecca, b. 1793; m. Fisher A. Darling of Mass. and Mich. Monroe, 587.
- PIERCE**, Abbie, m. 1830? Joel Oaks of Mass. Osceola, 329.
- Abner G., b. Cambridge; set. N. Y. 1850, Mich. Lenawee Port., 646.
- Asa, b. 1790; set. N. Y., 1814, Mich. 1835. Genesee Hist., 283.
- Asa T., b. Rehoboth; set. Mich., 1835. Genesee Hist., 283.
- Experience, m. 1810? David Peckens of N. Y. Washtenaw Port., 405.
- Isaac, b. Berkshire Co., 1803; set. N. Y., 1811, Mich., 1835. Kalamazoo Hist., opposite 344; Kalamazoo Port., 782.
- James H., b. Bristol Co., 1822; set. Ill., 1842, Mich., 1879. Allegan Twent., 255.
- Joshua, set. N. Y.; d. 1849. Genesee Port., 816.
- Mary, m. John T. Gilman of N. Y.; d. 1866. Genesee Port., 816.
- Nathan, b. 1770; set. N. Y., 1800? Washtenaw Hist., 817.
- PIERCE**, Nathan, b. Cheshire, 1790; set. N. Y., 1795, Mich. 1831 or 32. Calhoun, 129; Kalamazoo Port., 315; Washtenaw Hist., 817.
- Orrin R., b. Cambridge, 1849; set. N. Y., 1850, Mich., 1875. Lenawee Port., 646.
- Orrison A., b. 1847; set. Mich., 1869. Jackson Hist., 691.
- Peter, b. Boston; 1812 soldier; set. Penn., 1820? Saginaw Port., 987.
- Sarah, m. 1810? Joseph Rogers of N. Y. Jackson Port., 394.
- PIERSON**, Edwin D., b. Richmond, 1819; set. Mich., 1847. Lenawee Port., 675.
- Franklin D., set. N. Y., 1810. Saginaw Port., 649.
- PILLSBURY**, Emily E., b. 1815; m. William S. Robinson of N. Y. and Mich. Macomb Port., 216.
- PIPER**, Giles A., b. Boston, 1840; set. Ill., Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 380.
- Moses, set. Vt., Mich., 1838. Ingham Hist., 474.
- PITCHER**, Bathsheba, m. 1810? Thomas Sloan of N. Y. Gratiot, 274.
- PITTS**, Frances, of Cambridgeport or Charlestown; m. 1836, Charles Merrill of Mich. Detroit, 1220; Wayne Chron., 144.
- Polly, m. 1812? Peleg Hicks of N. Y. Lenawee Port., 527.
- PIXLEY**, Benona H., b. Great Barrington, 1808; set. Mich., 1833. Jackson Hist., 905.
- Laney, b. Barrington, 1793; m. Asa Hewett of N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 334, 464.
- Richard B., b. Great Barrington, 1801; set. Mich., 1836 or 38. Jackson Hist., 162, 905.
- PLACEWAY**, Joseph, set. N. Y., Mich., 1834; d. 1859. Ingham Port., 847.
- PLATT**, George W., b. Pittsfield; set. Mich., 1837. Berrien Twent., 151, 364.
- James M. b. Pittsfield; set. Mich. 1850? Berrien Twent., 785.
- PLUM**, Sarah, m. 1815? Samuel Gill of N. Y. Muskegon Port., 378.



- POMEROY**, Fanny, b. Southamptn; m. 1830? Phineas Strong of N. Y. Kent, 1140.
- Henry, b. 1786; set. Mich. Wash-tenaw Hist., 592.
- Silas, b. 1792; set. N. Y. 1820, Mich 1837. Jackson Hist., 1125.
- POMROY**, Levi, b. 1792; set. N. Y., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 703.
- POND**, Darius, set. N. H., 1810? Kent, 1285.
- POOL**, Achish, b. Ashfield, 1776; set. N. Y., 1810. Macomb Hist., 758.
- Lydia, b. Abington, 1791; m. 1815. Brackley Shaw of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist., I, 424; II, 438; Lenawee Port., 237.
- Marilla, of Savoy; m. 1820? Obediah Bliss of Mass and N. Y. Grand Rapids Lowell, 699.
- Olive, m. 1830? Alden Nash of O. and Mich. Kent, 596.
- William H., b. Ashfield, 1808; set. N. Y., Mich., 1848. Macomb Hist., 758.
- POPE**, Oliver C., b. Middlesex Co., 1793; set. N. Y., Mich., 1835. Hillsdale Hist., 151; Hillsdale Port., 880.
- PORTER**, Allen, b. Franklin Co., 1795; set. N. Y., 1806. Lenawee Port., 858.
- Caroline, b. 1808; m. 1832. Job Whitney of O. and Mich. Kent, 633.
- Jane E., m. 1835? Joseph S. Snow of Mich. Saginaw Port., 668.
- Seth J., b. Williamstown; set. N. Y., Mich.; d. 1834. Ingham Port., 420.
- POTTER**, J. M., b. Cheshire, 1839; set. Mich., 1856. Ingham Port., 828.
- POWELL**, John L., b. 1780; set. N. Y., 1804 or 06. Ionia Hist., 349; Ionia Port., 395.
- Milo, b. 1808, set. Mich., 1836. Cass Hist., 305.
- Robert, b. 1791; set. Mich. Wash-tenaw Hist., 591.
- POWER**, Arthur, b. Adams, 1771; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich., 1830? Lenawee Hist., I, 522.
- PRATT**, Aaron, set. N. Y., 1806. Ber-rien Port., 738.
- Alpheus, b. Sherburne, 1793; set. N. Y., 1819, Mich., 1833. Lenawee Hist., I, 407.
- Alva, b. Deerfield or Whately, 1796; set. N. Y. 1806; d. 1873. Berrien Port., 738; Washtenaw Port., 523.
- Charles, b. Cheshire; set. N. Y., 1810? Mich., 1833. Lenawee Hist., II, 435.
- Daniel L., Plainfield, 1820; set. O., 1830, Mich., 1845. Hillsdale Hist., 115; Hillsdale Port., 872; St. Clair, 120.
- Eldridge G., b. S. Boston, 1805; set. N. Y., Mich., 1832. Macomb Hist., 599.
- Elizabeth, b. 1783; m. Joseph John-son of N. Y. Hillsdale Hist., 294.
- Henry M., b. S. Framingham, 1842; set. Mich., 1864. Hillsdale Hist., 215.
- Ira, set. N. Y. Kalamazoo Port., 267.
- Jacob, b. 1784; set. N. Y., O., 1836, Mich., 1839. Ionia Port., 547.
- Josiah, Sr., Revolutionary soldier; set. Vt., 1790? Macomb Hist., 708; Macomb Past, 468.
- Linas, set. N. Y., 1815? Mich. Jackson Port., 325.
- Lucy, b. Belchertown, 1778; m. Ephraim Converse of Mass. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 1207.
- Mercy, b. Taunton; m. 1800? Na-thaniel Crossman. Calhoun, 133.
- Naomi, b. 1810? m. Willard Fel-shaw of N. Y. and Mich. Jackson Port., 325.
- Noah, set. Me., 1835? Newaygo, 321.
- Wellington H., b. S. Framingham, 1843; set. Mich., 1864. Hillsdale Hist., 215.
- William, set. O., 1830. Hillsdale Port., 872.
- PRAY**, Ellen, m. 1810? Joseph Young of N. Y. Shiawassee, 530.

- PRESTON, Fowler J., of Whately? set. Mich., 1829; d. 1843. Berrien Port., 117; Berrien Twent., 173, 949.
- John, of Andover, set. Conn., 1810? Macomb Hist., 709.
- PRICHARD, Ephraim, b. Great Barrington, 1790; set. O., Mich. Gratiot, 482.
- PRIEST, Laura, b. Nottingham? m. 1840? Abner G. Pierce of Mass., N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 646.
- PRIOR, Elizabeth, m. 1845, John Bamber of Mich. Oakland Port., 595.
- Frederick, b. 1801; set. Mich., 1835. Oakland Biog., 577.
- Philo, b. Pittsfield, 1829; set. Mich., 1835. Oakland Biog., 577.
- PROCTER, Benjamin, b. Gloucester, 1767; set. N. H. Macomb Hist., 835.
- PROCTOR, John, b. Groton; set. Vt., 1820? Kent, 665.
- PROUTY, — b. Worcester Co., 1775; set. Washington Co., N. Y., 1810? Macomb Hist., 723.
- PULLEN, Lucy, b. 1792; set. Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 592.
- PURINTON, Hulda, b. Franklin Co., 1791; m. Zenas Atwood of N. Y. and Mich. Ingham Port., 371.
- PUTNAM, Albert T., b. Worcester, 1821; set. Mich., 1841. Jackson Hist., 149.
- Benjamin W., b. Orange, 1843; set. Mich., 1865. Kent, 1106.
- R. W., b. Lowell, 1837; set. Mich., 1872. Washtenaw Hist., 1226.
- PUTNEY, Aaron, b. 1769; set. N. Y. Kalamazoo Port., 264.
- QUATERMASS, Richard, set. N. Y., 1810? Oakland Biog., 141.
- QUIMBY, Elizabeth, b. 1797; m. James H. Gould of N. Y. and Mich. Berrien Port., 679.
- RAMSDALL, Gideon, b. Cummington, 1783; set. N. Y., 1800. Lenawee Hist., I, 253.
- Ruth, b. 1801; m. Sylvanus Estes of Mich. Hillsdale Port., 740.
- RAMSEY, Sarah S., of Granville; m. 1847, J. Austin Scott of Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 1039.
- RAND, Louisa, m. 1825? Rufus Goddard of N. Y. and Mich. Ionia Hist., 354.
- Thomas J., b. Charlestown? 1806; set. Mich., 1849. Muskegon Hist., facing 73.
- RANDALL, Isaac, set. N. Y., 1810? Saginaw Port., 978.
- Mehitabel, m. 1820? Seth Robinson of Mass. and O. Gratiot, 542.
- Snow, b. Hanover, 1754; set. Vt. Branch Port., 637.
- RANKIN, Otis, set. Mich., 1836. St. Clair, 727.
- RANNEY, Ebenezer, set. N. Y., 1800? Kalamazoo Port., 609.
- Edwin, set. N. Y., 1840? Mich., 1854. Newaygo, 192.
- George, set. N. Y., 1833; d. 1842. Hillsdale Port., 871.
- Hannah, b. 1782; m. Abiather Phillips of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 665.
- Joel, b. Ashfield; set. N. Y., Mich., 1877. Ingham Hist., 182; Ingham Port., 226.
- Lucius, b. Ashfield, 1819; set. N. Y., Mich., 1842. Hillsdale Port., 871.
- Lucretia, b. Ashfield or Buckland, 1819; m. 1837, Darius Cross of Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 310; Lenawee Illns., 383; Lenawee Port., 1025.
- Mary, b. Ashfield; m. 1835? Augustus F. Daniels of Mich. Lenawee Port., 362.
- Sarah S., b. E. Granville, 1826; m. J. Austin Scott of N. Y. and Mich. Washtenaw Past, 121.
- RANSOM, Epaphroditus, b. Hampshire Co., 1799; set. Vt., Mich., 1833 or 37. Governor. Berrien Hist., 132; Branch Port., 125; Kalamazoo Hist., 117.
- RASH, George, b. 1788; set. Mich., 1824. Washtenaw Hist., 875.
- RATHBUN, Hiram, set. N. Y., 1815? Shiawassee, 209.
- RAWSON, Elias, from near Boston; set. Mich., 1830. Kalamazoo Hist., 508.
- Theodore, set. Mich., 1840? Lenawee Port., 649, 684.

(To be Continued)



REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

BY JUDGE FRANCIS M. THOMPSON OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

INCLUDING HIS NARRATIVE OF THREE YEARS IN THE NEW WEST, DURING WHICH HE TOOK IN 1862 A 3000-MILE TRIP FROM ST. LOUIS UP THE MISSOURI, AND THENCE DOWN THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS TO PORTLAND, AND TO SAN FRANCISCO, RETURNING IN 1863.

CHAPTER III.

(Continued from Vol. V.)

FORT BENTON AND THE HEAD WATERS OF THE MISSOURI

FORT BENTON, owned by the American Fur Company, is the headquarters of the Indian trade in this region, and thus a place of much importance. It is built of adobies, with bastions and port holes, and a few determined men ought to be able to defend it against any force which the Indians can bring against it. This region abounds in tales of tragic and romantic events. Once the country of the Flatheads, now domicilled west of the Rocky mountains, by conquest, it became the home of the related tribes known as Bloods, Piegans and Blackfeet. The *Gros Ventres* living below the mouth of Milk river, are also related to these tribes, and speak the same language. Lewis and Clark were probably the first white men who came in contact with these people, and their acquaintance commenced with tragedy. The first party they met boldly took possession of two of Captain Lewis's horses and in the struggle for their recovery, two Indians were killed.

In 1810, two venturesome traders, named Ashley and Henry, erected a defensible trading post near the Three Forks of the Missouri, expecting a large trade with the Crows and Blackfeet, but their venture was a failure, as was also a similar attempt made in 1822 by others for the establishment



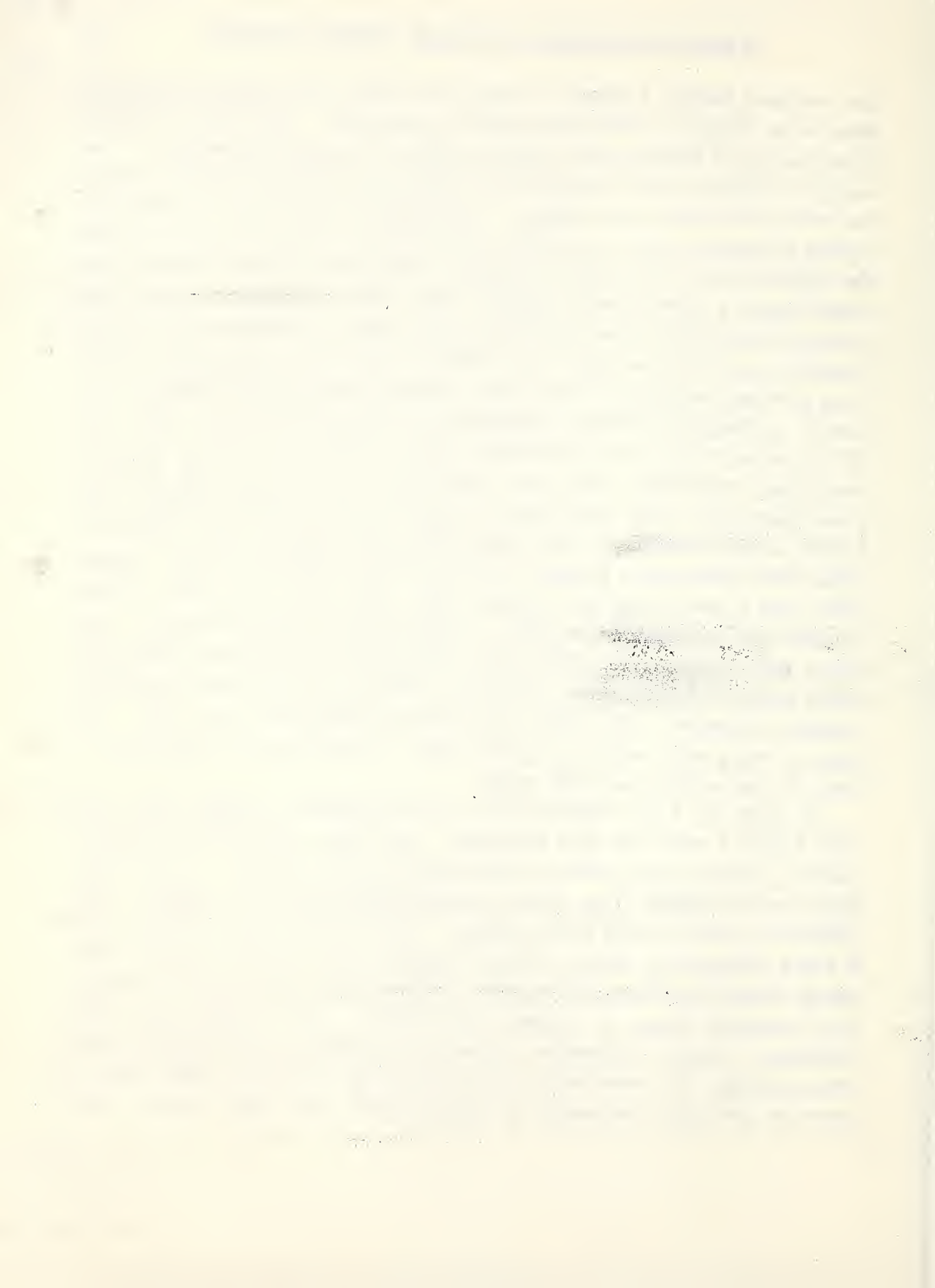
of trade in this region. But in 1831, James Kipp, a trader at Fort Union, filling Mackinaws with "trade goods" enlisted seventy-five men in his service and they trailed their boats to the mouth of the Marias (about 30 miles below Benton) where they built a post and called it Fort Piegan, in honor of the local Indians, and succeeded in establishing a very profitable business. In the spring he returned to Fort Union,⁶ with the peltries he had gathered, and re-loading his boats with Indian goods he with sixty men started upon his return up the river. Ill luck attended him, and by a sudden storm his boats were wrecked and all his goods were lost. Runners were sent to Fort Union and a new stock in trade was dispatched up the river under charge of David D. Mitchell, who succeeded Kipp as chief trader. Not liking the location of Kipp's fort, he built a new one on the south side of the Missouri and named it Fort McKenzie. With Mitchell, at this time went Major Alexander Culbertson, whose advent proved an important factor in subsequent events in the valley of the upper Missouri, as, for thirty years he was the most important man in the whole region. Maximillian, prince of Weid, and his suite, made Fort McKenzie their head-quarters for a season, and while here they had opportunity to witness and take part in an Indian battle. Thirty lodges of Piegan's had pitched their lodges near the walls of the fort, and were busily engaged in exchanging their furs for such articles of trade as they desired. All at once fifteen hundred Assiniboines came rushing toward the fort, the inmates of which thought they were the party to be attacked, and opened upon the raiders with seventy five guns. Seizing the first gun at hand the prince rammed down a big charge, put the piece to his shoulder and sighting through a port hole at a hideously painted warrior, fired. The recoil of the double loaded gun knocked the prince across the bastion and striking the opposite wall he was for a few moments stunned, but recovered consciousness and found that his gun was already loaded when he took it. One Assinaboine was killed, perhaps by the excited prince. It was soon apparent that the attack was upon the Piegan camp, and the entrance gate was thrown open, and in the rush for safety, the Piegan squaws loaded down with saddles and household utensils, so blocked up the way that twenty-five men, women and children of the tribe were slaughtered at the very gate of the fort. The Piegans traded at the fort;

the Assiniboines did not; therefore it was good policy for the traders to aid the Piegans; so Culbertson and Mitchell with some of their men joined a large party who were camped nearby at Cracon-du Nez,⁷ in an attack upon the Assiniboine camp. The battle lasted amid the broken grounds all day, and when the Assiniboines withdrew they took with them forty Piegan scalps, and left but eight of their own in the hands of their enemies. The whites escaped injury.

The next year Major Culbertson was in charge of Fort McKinzie. One day three Blood warriors and a squaw came to the fort on a journey to the Crow country to steal horses. The Major discouraged them and they concluded to abandon the expedition and return home. While camped at Cracon-du-Nez they were surprised by a party of Crows who dashed upon them and killed two of the Bloods and wounded the other. He made a supreme effort and knocked a Crow from his horse, seized his enemies' spear and leaping on the horse escaped to the fort. The sister of the Crow warrior was taken captive and the Crows started for their own country. The wounded Blood piloted Major Culbertson and a party to the battleground, and the bodies of the slain were taken to the fort and decently buried. A few days after the Major thought he saw some person in the bushes on the opposite side of the Missouri river, and crossed in a canoe to reconnoiter. He discovered the squaw, entirely naked but for some twigs bound upon her body and recognized her as the sister of the brave Blood warrior. The Crows had stripped off her clothing so as to prevent her escape and placed her in care of a lynx-eyed old squaw, from whom she escaped. Travelling night and day without food or clothing, she had been fortunate enough to reach a place of safety. Her arrival at the fort was opportune, as she had learned of a plan of the Crows to attack the trading post in large numbers. Forewarned, preparations to receive the Crows were rapidly made, but no time could be spared to increase their supply of meat, before a large body of Crows swept down and captured all the horses belonging to the fort. They went into the camp near the fort and then asked for a parley. Major Culbertson told them to return the horses and then he would talk with them. He talked with friends, not with enemies. The Crows would not return the captured stock, and kept the fort in a state of siege. The garrison dug a well inside

the stockade finding a supply of water, but their food entirely failed and they were obliged to kill their dogs for sustenance. The men were in a rebellious mood because they were not allowed to attack the savages. The sagacious Major, true to his policy of making and keeping friends, forbade the men to fire upon the Indians. Learning that there was a conspiracy among his men to steal a mackinaw and abandon the fort at night, he told the Crows that if they did not depart before noon of the next day he would send a thunder-bolt among them. He accordingly trained his cannon in the bastion upon their camp, and calmly awaited the time limit. Exactly upon the hour fixed, the thunder broke forth and cannon balls went plowing through the Crow camp, and the frightened red-skins lost no time in pulling down their wikiups and the big chief Rotten Belly and all his young braves, who had driven him into this attack upon the fort, skeddaddled, crestfallen away over the hills. To wipe out this disgrace a war party was made up to find and make attack upon the Piegans, the friends of the whites. At the Goose bill, just above the site of Benton, these Crows discovered a party of twelve Gros Ventres in camp. Rotten Belly was a brave man and a great chief. He said to his party, "Now we shall see who are brave men. I shall lead the attack though I feel that I am to fall in it." The Crows swept into the fight and killed the entire party of Gros Ventres, but Rotton Belly was, as he had predicted, mortally wounded. He called his warriors around him and said. "Go back to my people with my dying words. Tell them ever hereafter to keep the peace with the white men."

In 1837 the Fur companies boat "The Trapper," brought with it to Fort Union a man sick with smallpox. An Indian carried off an infected blanket, and the dread disease spread with terrible rapidity. The Assiniboines were reduced from twelve hundred fighting men to eighty. The Minneteres lost one half their number. The Mandans with whom Lewis & Clark wintered, in 1804-5, the best Indians in the western country, were nearly wiped out; from six hundred warriors they were reduced to thirty. Five hundred lodges of Peigans and Bloods were camped near Fort McKenzie. Major Culbertson warned the Indians of the fatality of the dread scourge, but they insisted upon receiving the goods which were to come by the boat, assuming all responsibility for their action, much



against the active protest of Culbertson. The result was, that nearly every one of the ninety employes of the fort and the Major himself, had the disease, with the peculiarity that of the twenty-seven who died, twenty-six were squaws. Six thousand Bloods, Blackfeet and Piegiens died of the disease; two thirds in number of the allied tribes.

Major Culbertson had been called to the head office at St. Louis. For ten years Fort McKinzie had held a large and profitable trade, but the new managers, Chardon and Harvey, by their want of consideration and both being possessed with ungovernable tempers, ruined its prospects and caused its destruction. In 1842 a war party of twenty Bloods came to the fort and demanded admittance, which was refused. Angered at their treatment they shot a pig which belonged to the fort, and went on their way. Chardon took six men and went after the angry Bloods, and as one of his men named Reese (a negro) climbed to the top of a bluff and looked over, he was shot by the Bloods. Maddened by their experience, the whites returned to the fort and Chardon and Harvey secretly resolved to take vengeance on the first party of Indians who came to the fort, thus adopting the Indian way of payment of old scores. They loaded the cannon in the upper bastion of the fort with musket balls and trained it upon the center of the main entrance to the fort. Not long after, a large party of Blackfeet arrived and the three chiefs were at once admitted through the small door, and the others were directed to gather at the main gate, which would soon be opened. When all was ready, Chardon threw open the gate, and as he did so, Harvey with fiendish satisfaction fired his pistol into the priming on the cannon and a hundred musket balls crashed into the crowd at the open gate. Twenty-one dead Indians strewn the ground, many wounded ones straggled away, several being killed as they ran. The three chiefs in the confusion, climbed the walls and escaped. When reason returned to the murderers, they became alarmed, and making up a working party, Chardon dispatched them by night with orders to build a new fort in the Crow country, at the mouth of the Judith river. Keeping close through the winter, Chardon loaded his goods on board some boats and with the opening of spring, safely dropped down to his new fort, called "F. A. C." the initial letters of his name. No trade came to the new post, and the Indians kept it beleaguered

the most of the time. Neither Chardon or Harvey dared show themselves outside the walls of the fort.

The St. Louis managers at last persuaded Major Culbertson to return to the upper river and negotiate a peace. As the boat which bore Major Culbertson and the supply of goods approached Fort F. A. C. it was hailed and Malcom Clarke and James Lee came on board. Finding Harvey on the boat, with whom they had a feud, they attacked him with hatchets, but Major Culbertson interfered and saved his life. At the next wooding place, Harvey and Culbertson landed and reached the fort before the boat arrived, and Culbertson managed to send Harvey down the river in a canoe before Clarke and Lee arrived. The Major did not approve of the location of Fort F. A. C. and taking five men with him in a Mackinaw with stores and material, he left Malcom Clarke in command of the fort and went up the Missouri to find a new location. He decided to locate a few miles below the great falls of the Missouri, on the south bank of the river. He was so anxious to get under cover of his wooden walls, before any Indians discovered him, that he forbade hunting, and his seventy men had to feed on dog flesh. Early in January in 1844 he felt himself prepared to receive company and sent out a party of hunters who returned with plenty of meat and brought with them an old Blackfoot man whom they had discovered, who told them that the tribe was encamped on Belley river in the British possessions. Furnishing him with provisions and presents he sent him to his tribe with an invitation for them to come to the fort and hold a council. In due time Ah-Kow-Mah-Ki, (the Big Swan,) appeared with fifty of his head men. Major Culbertson told them that the bad men had been discharged by the company and that he would remain at the head of affairs and that he desired peace. Big Swan in reply, speaking to his own people, told them that if there were any present who had lost friends in the massacre of Fort F. A. C. they must bury animosity and take good heart; that from this time forward there should be no stealing of the horses of the white men; no killing of white men, and no molesting of the fort so long as the bad Chardon and Harvey remained away; that the ground had been made good again by Major Culbertson's return, and that the Blackfeet must not be the first to stain it with blood.



Peace having been concluded the Major gave each of the six principal men a rifle and distributed to others blankets and tobacco, and ever after, until the arrival of emigration, the Blackfeet kept faith with the whites, with the exception of some individual encounters. For this peculiarly valuable service Major Culbertson would not accept pecuniary remuneration, but the American Fur Company found a way to remunerate him by increasing his salary from \$2000 to \$3000 a year, and after a time to \$5000.

The Indians disliked the location of Fort Lewis, as at times it was dangerous to cross the Missouri; they wished a trading post near the Teton river, where was always plenty of grass, wood and water. So Major Culbertson sought a new location, and pitched upon the spot where Fort Benton was built, which was but a few miles from the Teton river. In 1846 Fort Lewis was moved by piece-meal down to the new location, and when finished named after in honor of that noble old Roman, Thomas H. Benton. In 1845 Harvey again appeared in the country as manager of an opposition post and taking a Piegan wife, built a fort just above the Cracon du Nez where he secured some trade from his wife's tribe. He died in 1853 and the station was abandoned.

In 1854 Andrew Dawson came to Fort Benton and was in charge when the Emilie arrived with its crowd of immigrants. Dawson was a strong and able man, and managed the Fur company interests with great skill and judgment. The ensuing year Governor Isaac I. Stevens of Washington Territory and Col. Alfred Cummings, were appointed commissioners by the United States government to negotiate treaties between the different Indian tribes occupying the country about the sources of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and between all the Indians and the whites. The council met on the north bank of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of Judith river, and the negotiations were so long continued that Col. Cummings feared that the river might be closed by ice before his Mackinaw could reach civilization. He put his ambulance on board a boat and sent his mules overland along the river. The river closed in before he had reached Fort Pierre, at which point he learned that his mules had been stolen by the Indians.

He made application to General Harney who was arranging his winter camp near the fort, for mules to haul his ambulance. The bluff old In-

dian fighter, who was no believer in peace agreements with the savages, answered: "Yes, Colonel Cummings, I have plenty of mules, but you can't have one; I only regret that when the Indians got your mules, they didn't get your scalp also. Here all summer I and my men have suffered and broiled, to chastise these wretches, while you have been patching another of your sham treaties, to be broken tomorrow and give us more work."

Col. Cummings secured his team from private parties and made his way across the country. Getting near the camp of Little Soldier, a noted Sioux chief, the Colonel thought it good policy to make him a ceremonial visit. Finding himself thoroughly winded when he arrived at the village located upon the top of a high bluff, (as he weighed about three hundred pounds) he declared that he never would go down that hill. A quick-witted squaw helped him out of his dilemma by seizing a large buffalo robe and spreading it upon the ground persuaded the doughty colonel to be seated in the middle of it, when she and a dozen other squaws seized the edges of the robe and safely with great hilarity transported the United States official to his ambulance, free from any injury with the exception of his wounded dignity.

Within a day or two after our arrival at Fort Benton the goods brought by the Emilie and the Shreveport were piled upon the river bank, and the passengers who decided to remain in the country were turned loose to shift for themselves. Our party were kept busy getting together our belongings, and we engaged a young fellow whom we called "Little Stewart" who had worked his passage on the Emilie, as cook, and pitched our camp on the prairie, and for a few days the whole company were together, but for a few days only. A very few Indians were camped in the vicinity of the fort, but horses were very scarce and high priced. I obtained a nice pony for which I paid sixty dollars, which ordinarily would have sold for twenty-five. The Emilie hastened upon her return trip, for fear of low water, and we were forced to bid good-by to Professor and Mrs. Hoyt, and some others who at the last moment had weakened as pioneers and turned their faces homeward.

We engaged the services of a mountaineer called "Big Gwynn,"⁹ to obtain for us four horses to haul our wagon and supplies to the mines

at Gold creek. The big prairie was none too large to contain those four ponies and their long-haired driver during the few days when they were changing from saddle horses into draught animals. The first appearance of our turn-out in public was as good as a circus, and the driver had the assistance of all the emigrants and Indians at the landing, but in the course of a week we were able to move our wagon from Benton about seven miles over on the Teton river where was plenty of wood, water and grass. It proved a lucky move for us, for riding over to the fort the next day, to purchase more ponies, we learned that the Gros Ventres had made a raid there and stolen eighty horses. Our fellow passengers, the Risby party, lost six, which cost them \$550.

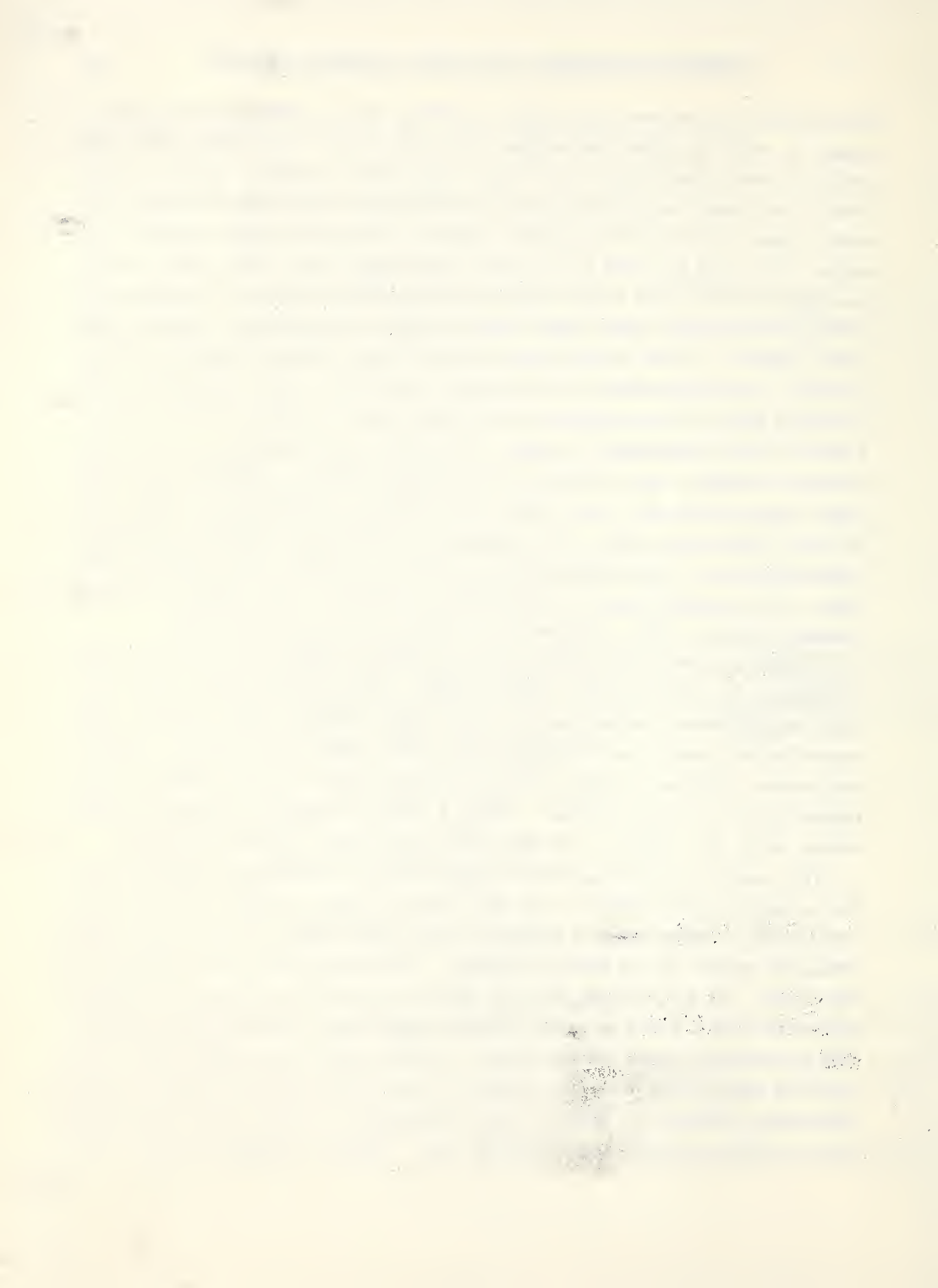
In order to facilitate the surveys for a Pacific railroad undertaken by Gov. Stevens in the fifties, that portion of the United States army which acted as guard for the surveying parties, under command of Lt. John Mullan, laid out and constructed what was known as the "Mullan Road" between Fort Benton and the Dalles, in Oregon. It was when first constructed passable for loaded wagons, but led over steep mountains and through rocky canons, and at the time of our use of it, very many of the log bridges over the mountain streams had washed away. The Gray party, having a fine mule team, soon were ready to start for the mountains and invited me to join them. A party was soon made up, consisting of Mr. Filley and son of St. Louis, Major Reed, the Indian agent, Mr. and Mrs. Vail, their two children and Miss Bryan, a sister of Mrs. Vail, and myself, and we pushed on to overtake the Gray party. The Vails were from Iowa, and were in the employ of Mr. Reed, the Indian agent, to reside upon and manage the "Government farm," established to educate the surrounding Indians in the mysteries of farming. We rode thirty-five miles and camped at a place called "the springs" on a high prairie which reached to the foot hills of the Rocky mountains. The next day we overtook the Gray party and kept with them until we reached "the farm" on Sun river. The Sun river is a beautiful mountain stream, and on its banks stand the palisaded farm buildings, built of hewed cotton-wood logs. At the station were many cattle, a few horses, but no Indians were taking lessons in agriculture. The valley was large and beautiful, and was the home o numberless deer and antelope. Camped at the fort we



labored hard to recover and repair the ferry boat owned by the government, in order to take the wagons over the river. When the ferry was ready, it was discovered that Gray's team was missing. After a long search the strays were found far up the valley, and being recovered we safely took over the river all the wagons, the stock being compelled to swim. We bade farewell to our fellow passengers, the Vails, and camped that night at Bird Tail rock; a most curious freak of nature. An immense rock covering many acres rises from the plain, resembling a turkey's tail when spread. A few miles distant stands Crown Butte, covering a large territory, its perpendicular walls rising hundreds of feet above the surrounding plain. Its top appears to be level, and I could not learn that it had ever been ascended by man. Crossing the Dearborn, a fine clear mountain stream, not far from its junction with the Missouri, we met many teams from the west side of the Rocky mountains on their way to Fort Benton for goods. We camped on Wolf creek and the baying of wolves upon our unsophisticated ears, kept us awake a good part of the night. In the morning we found that the thieves had gnawed off the raw-hide lariets which picketed our horses, and let them loose.

July 1st, we met Giles Filley's team at Little Prickley Pear creek, which enabled us to forward letters homeward. We learned by them that several bridges were washed away in the canon ahead of us, and we were compelled to cross over Medicine Rock hill, which was a heavy pull for our teams. On the summit of the mountain rises a wall of white quartz extending for a long distance. Such a freak of nature has great significance with the Indians, and they hold the place in great reverence.

We were up and off at three o'clock the next morning, hoping to cross the summit of the Rocky's that day, but we had a rough trail and were compelled to camp upon a branch of the Big Prickley Pear creek which sends its waters to the Gulf of Mexico. We had followed the Missouri to its source. At ten o'clock, July 3d, 1862, we carved our names on Mullan's mile post, had a game of snow balling, waved the "Star-spangled Banner," and gave three cheers for the Union. At this place the summit was grass covered and to the west we could see the little stream, which we were afterward destined to follow until it emptied its waters into the Pacific, down which we took our winding way. When we made camp, Bryan



and I caught plenty of fine trout to furnish the whole party with supper. The night was very cold and ice a half inch in thickness formed in camp. Following down the Little Blackfoot which soon became a sizeable stream, we crossed the north end of Deer Lodge prairie and following down the Hell Gate river, about night came opposite the mouth of Gold creek, but finding the waters too strong for fording, we camped on the north side. By noon the next day we had the pack train and goods safely over the Hell Gate, a feat accomplished with some difficulty. A little Frenchman who had walked and carried his own pack all the way from Benton, undertook to follow the train in the ford, with his pack strapped upon his back, but reaching swift water his feet were swept from under him and he rolled in the stream, sometimes the Frenchman and sometimes the pack uppermost, but by good luck he regained the shore from which he started. Although we all feared that he would drown, we could not help but laugh at his commical appearance. I hired an Indian to lead my horse over and bring him across. We found about twenty of our fellow passengers already at work in the mines, and some claimed that they were getting out about ten or twelve dollars per day. We saw one man who had been at work in the mines about two months, clean up his day's work by which he realized an ounce of gold worth nearly twenty dollars. Our party went some distance up the stream and staked out some claims, and we did a little prospecting, getting the color of gold in each pan of gravel.

Monday morning July 7th. Madison of our party came in from Fort Benton and the next day we and some members of the Gray party took blankets and provisions and crossing the hills toward the east struck Rock creek, in a tramp of four or five miles. We found in almost all the prospect holes we opened, a few specks of fine gold. At night we wrapped ourselves in our blankets and without shelter of any kind slept like old mountaineers.

Continuing down the creek the next day, we came to a small circular valley in the midst of which was tall rank grass, service berry bushes, and willows, and in the thicket we heard the "whisk" of white tailed deer. Although still quite lame from my wrenched ankle, I slipped from my horse to look for game, while Madison mounted my horse and rode on

down the trail. I had the only rifle in the party, and soon heard Madison shouting "Come on, Thompson! here's a bear!" I hobbled down the trail as fast as possible, and caught sight of the bear climbing the bank on the opposite side of the stream, while the boys were firing at him with their revolvers. Without much regard to my game leg, I climbed through the canon and caught sight of Bruin as he ran into a little thicket in a hollow. As I approached the thicket he ran out from it up a hill opposite where I stood. I fired at him while he was running, and as the bullet struck him he clawed the wound, and then ran over the hill out of my sight. I thought that I had lost him, but loaded my rifle as I ran, and in so doing lost the little brass false muzzle, used in starting the bullet. As I came to the hill-top, down the slope, stood several immense rough barked pines, and I soon saw the bear shinning up one of them. He walked out on one of the large limbs until it forked, where he turned himself around, and laid down with his head upon his fore paws, like a big dog. I remember saying aloud, to myself, "Now Thompson, keep cool, don't get rattled; that's your bear."

I undertook to start a bullet into the muzzle of my rifle with the cleaning rod, but could not do it, and was compelled to hunt a dry stick of service berry bush and whittle out a starter. Pounding the bullet in with a rock, I succeeded in loading my gun, and creeping up to the side of a big pine I took good aim and fired. At first the bear did not move and I feared that I had missed my aim, then came a sort of shudder, and the big creature fell more than fifty feet to the ground. Before approaching him I reloaded my rifle and being ready to fire at any hostile movement, I moved toward my victim, finding him stone dead. Our party had made camp about a mile away, but my lungs were good, and I yelled so loudly that Madison came up, and cutting a stick we arranged it gambrel-like in the bear's hind legs, but found it hard to draw the brute against the fur, so cutting off the top of my moccasins we tied the stick to the bear's nose, and dragged him with comparative ease to the camp. We *guessed* eh would weigh two hundred pounds, and found bear steak an enjoyable change from side bacon. The next day one of the boys loaded the horse with bear meat and returned to the home camp at Gold creek, while the rest of us continued to prospect Rock creek. When we

reached home, I was hailed as "Bear Killer," a distinction which I intensely enjoyed.

On the 13th of July, Rev. Mr. Francis held service at Gold creek, possibly the first time that a Protestant service was ever held at any settlement in what is now Montana. I organized a choir for the occasion. We received word that our man "Big Gwynn" had succeeded in getting our wagon into the Deer Lodge valley, and we rented from Johnny Grant, the owner, a deserted log cabin standing at the junction of the Little Blackfoot and Deer Lodge rivers as our headquarters. Grant had moved several miles up the Deer Lodge, and built new houses near Cottonwood. At our place was a good corral, and hundreds of cattle were grazing in the valley.

Noticing some wild cows with calves nearby, with the aid of others I succeeded in capturing two calves and putting them into the corral, the mothers were also taken. By gentle usage I became able to calm the rears of the mothers to such an extent that I could milk them. At least twice each day the cows came to their calves and thus I obtained a sufficient supply of milk for our camp, churning the cream by shaking it in a pickle jar. The two rivers in our front yard were alive with fine large mountain trout, and with an occasional antelope for change, we lived on the fat of the land. The two rivers by their junction formed the Hell Gate, a large swift flowing stream, and Gold creek, or American fork, entered about twenty miles below. James and Granville Stuart had at that point opened up some good paying mines, showing from seven to twenty dollars per day for each man. But the bed rock lay from twelve to fifteen feet below the surface, and the time necessary, and the cost of doing this stripping, before reaching pay dirt, discouraged those who had seemingly expected to pick up nuggets upon the bars in the streams. The Gray party decided to sell out their surplus supplies and move on over the mountains to Walla Walla, or some other good point, and purchase a hotel.

After several days spent in fishing, hunting and prospecting, Bryan, myself and eleven others organized a party to go to the "Beaver-Head country"¹⁰ on a prospecting tour. We had heard exciting stories of United States soldiers finding rich prospects while marching through that region.

We hired John W. Powell as guide and July 21st we gathered and rode up the Deer Lodge camping two miles above Johnny Grant's houses. The Deer Lodge valley is a beautiful park, some thirty miles in length and of varying width, surrounded by high mountains, and at that time was full of game. We took our noon lunch at the Hot Springs, having killed an antelope as we rode. In the midst of the prairie there rises a conical mound some sixty feet across its base and about thirty-five feet high, built up by the mineral salts contained in the boiling hot water bubbling and sizzling in a cavity at the apex of the mound. Near by, flows the clear cool waters of the Deer Lodge, and at the base of the cone are basins a few feet deep containing water of various degrees of temperature. It is a wonderful exhibition of the works of nature. In the early evening we had a big scare. Far up the creek we saw forms moving about among the low shrubbery and all were sure that they saw Indians. We organized our forces in military fashion, Major William Graham being chosen commander, and voted to set regular guards, changing at midnight. Upon a thorough examination with a field glass, we found our enemies to be a pack of wolves. Our guide knew of a pass in the main chain of the Rocky mountains, more to the east than the trail toward Salt Lake then ran, which he said would bring us out near the "Three Forks." As we made our way up the Deer Lodge, some one discovered a large animal upon a bench of land far ahead. Powell thought it was a grizzly bear, and Parker, Mandeville and I, prepared to go in pursuit. Powell warned us of the danger, but we determined to hunt the bear. As we rode deep in the valley we could not see the animal, but we fixed upon the spot where the high bench pushed out into the valley, and when we came to it my companions followed up a small run which came down from the bench, while I continued around the nose of the hill, and followed up another similar run. When at the hight of land I raised myself and about twenty rods away stood an immense buffalo, the largest I ever saw. Across the bench I saw Parker and signalled him to shoot, which he did. Immediately the big beast headed toward me on a gallop. I slunk back into my ditch, with nerves at highest tension, and ready to fire in an instant. After waiting seemingly ten minutes, no buffalo appearing, I ventured to take another view. The big brute stood not far distant on

the plain, turned around once or twice and laid himself down as would an ox. I approached with rifle ready for instant use, but the beast was dead. Mandeville was the butcher and we found that Parker's bullet had passed through his heart. Cutting out the choice pieces we left a mountain of meat to the wolves and turkey buzzards. He was of the species called a Wood Buffalo, and his head would have been a prize for any museum. His head and fore locks were so full of teazles, burrs and seeds, that he must have been blind for years.

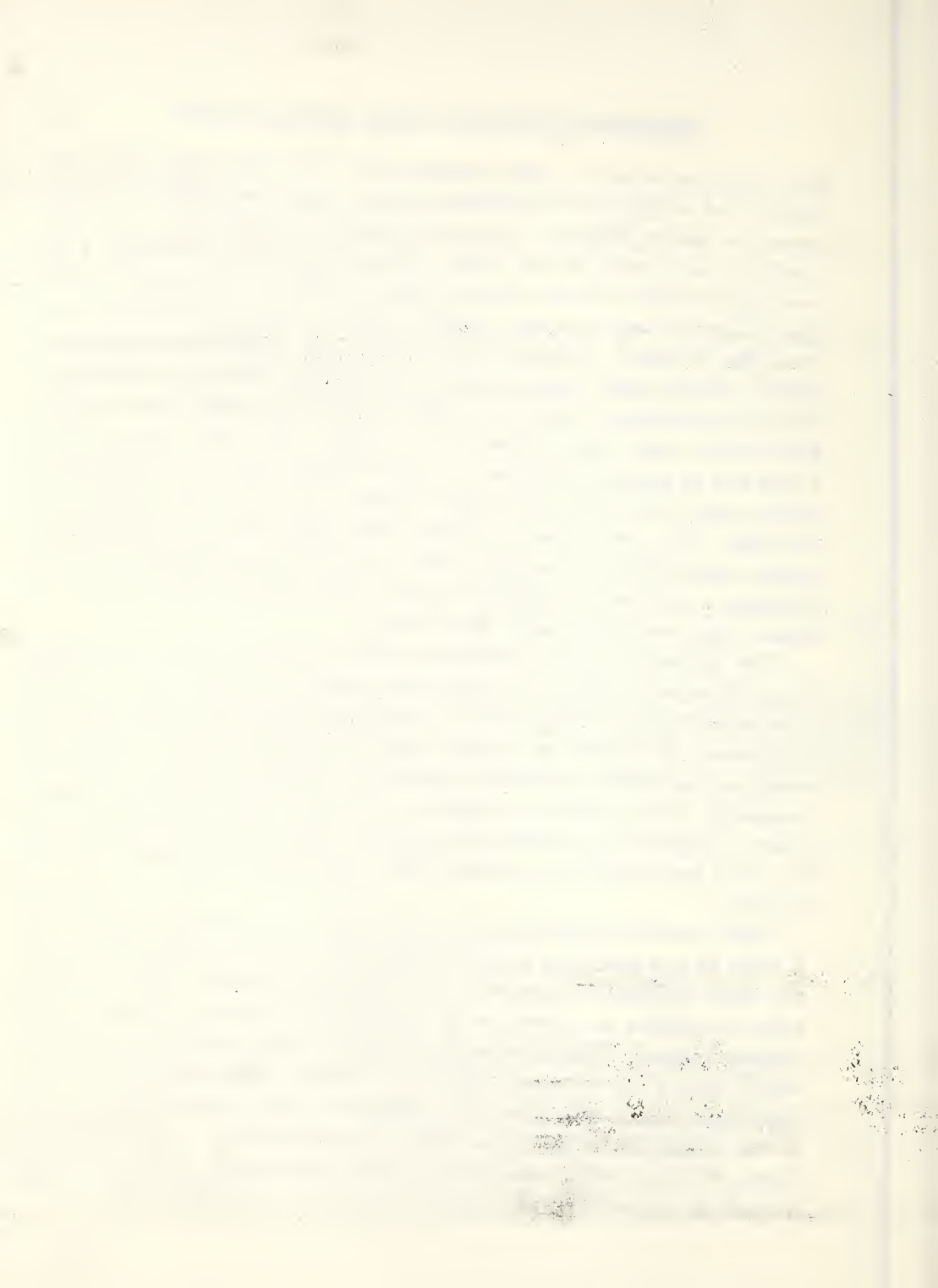
From all the information which I can gather, the city or mines of Butte stand upon the spot where we killed the buffalo. The next day we passed through the mountains and travelling down a branch of White tail Deer creek, we came across a real grizzly, but he was on the farther side of the creek and the canon was so deep that we could not cross to attack him. Camping in a small park filled with beaver dams, we were driven nearly wild by mosquitoes. In fact they did stampede the horses and we had a long hunt for them in the morning. After a twenty-five mile ride we made camp in a pretty park filled with dry, tall grass. In the morning all the party but Rawlings, an Englishman, and I, started out to prospect a small creek we had passed. We were to keep camp and bake bread. I built a fire under the shade of some bushes to protect it from the wind while Rawlings went into the grass and digging out a little hole without scattering the fresh earth over the grass about his fire place, started it and went to the creek for water. In a few minutes a gust of wind sent the fire into the grass and the whole country was on fire. I fired guns to bring in the men, and lugged all the saddles, blankets and camp material on to a burned spot where I had spread down blankets, while Rawlings jumped up and down and yelled like a crazy man, giving no aid whatever. An immense cloud of smoke rolled up and that night we set extra guard, for fear that the Indians would find our camp by the great smoke. We followed north on the foot hills of the range, having a hard ride over a very rocky trail, but camped in a beautiful valley filled with game. I killed two wolves which were lurking near our camp.

The next morning not a horse was to be found in camp. The horse guard followed the trail back to our dinner camp of the day before and found the missing animals luxuriating in an acreage of sweet grass which

they had discovered on their previous visit. He also found that two Indians had occupied our abandoned camp. How they missed our stray horses we cannot imagine. As we are watched we will have to be more careful of our horses in the future. Being very fond of shooting I am privileged to ride in front with the guide. Today as we came out of a deep canon we ran onto two mountain sheep. Powell whispered to me "take the left one." I slipped off my horse and under great excitement fired at the big fellow not ten rods away standing broad side toward me. Off up the mountain side he ran while I let go the bullet in my smooth-bore barrel, which only added to his speed. This was the only time I ever had an attack of *buck fever*. I don't suppose that I saw the forward sight on my rifle during the whole incident. Powell's sheep rolled over and died. We were sure he would weigh 250 pounds, and with great regret were obliged to abandon a fine set of horns at least five inches in diameter at the base. Gathered around the camp-fire that evening we found roast mountain sheep fine eating.

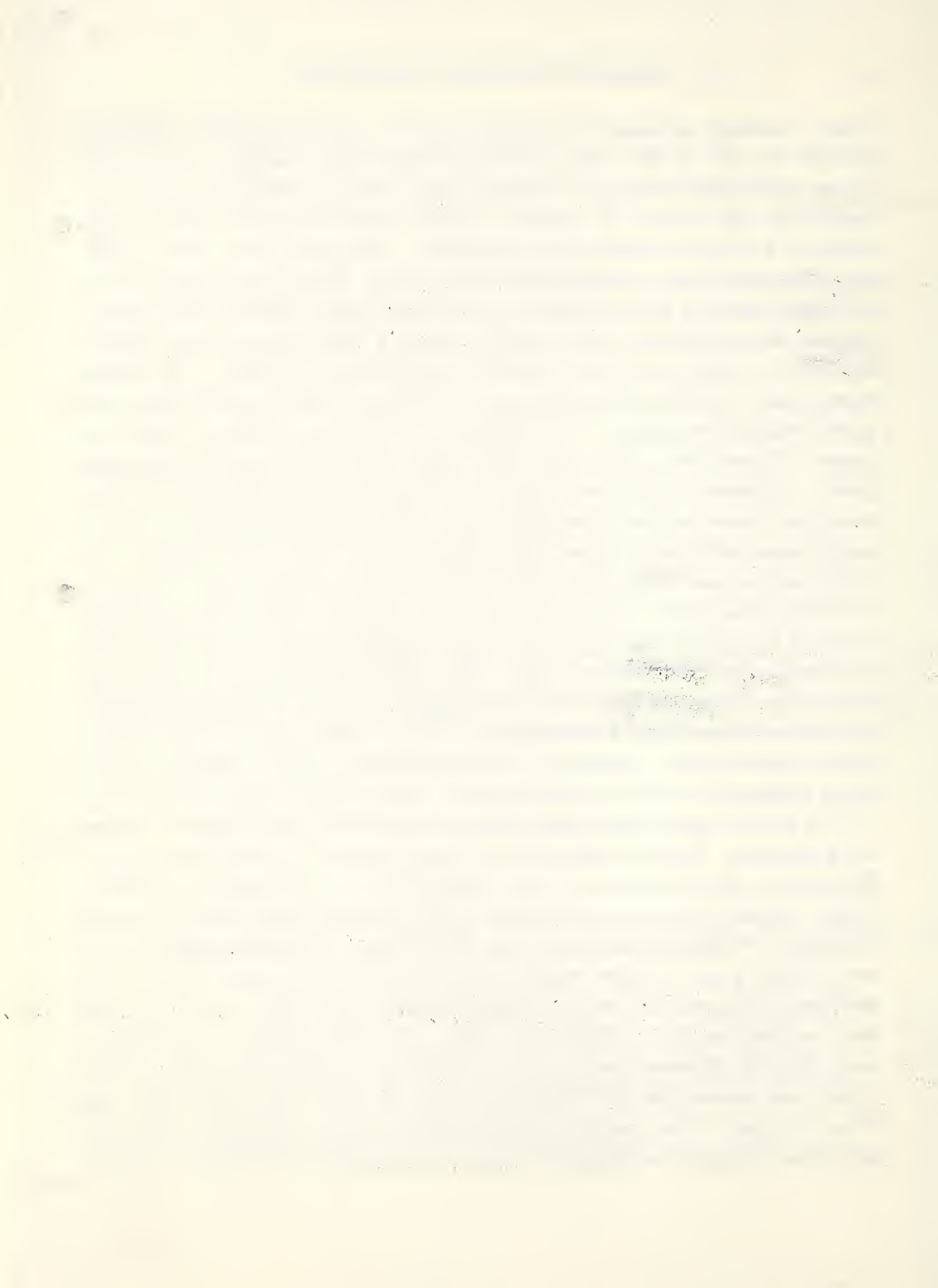
The following day we continued north on the east side of the main Rocky-Mountain range for 25 miles and camped on Crow creek. Powell claimed that the previous year he had found a good showing of gold at this place. We killed an antelope just as we made camp. Cutting off what our immediate necessities required, by using a pole we hung the remainder of the carcass so high on a tree that flies would not find it, where it might, even without salt, safely remain until cured by the dry air. We have killed an antelope every day since we started, excepting the first.

After two days prospecting on Crow creek we concluded that although a color or fine gold was found in nearly every pan of earth, that it was too much diffused to warrant us in taking up claims. After a conference we decided to return to the large creek (Boulder) where we had recently camped. Riding in advance I killed a two-year-old buffalo heifer which proved the sweetest meat I ever tasted. The unshod feet of my pony had become very sore, and taking the scalp of the buffalo I made it into moccasins for my horse which did good service. While carelessly riding with my bridle reins lying on the horse's neck, using both hands in loading my revolver, as I passed close by an old buffalo skull a rattle-



snake suddenly sounded his alarm, and the horse jumping one side pitched me off. I fell upon the sharp buffalo horn cutting a deep hole in my right elbow, the scar of which I carry today. Which was the more frightened, the rattler or myself I hardly know, but his rattles were added to a score or more in my possession. My pony took a long circuit and recovering from his fright returned to me. It was our custom when we made camp at places which we suspected were infested with rattlesnakes, to coil around our sleeping places a lariat made from buffalo hair, and I never knew of a snake crossing such a barrier. We made camp upon a little creek making into the large stream, where there was good feed for the horses. At midnight it became my turn to stand on guard. I went out a few rods from camp and lay down in some high grass. Perhaps I had fallen asleep, but raising my head cautiously I was sure that I saw Indians creeping toward camp in the tall grass. How a man's heart will throb under such circumstances. My first thought was to fire at the moving creatures as shown by the moving grass. Then it occurred to me that if it was a false alarm, that I would be the laughing stock of the party. As I lay upon my stomach, every nerve and sense was under the most intense strain. The light in the east grew more and more powerful as I watched the moving grass, ready to fire at any instant, my nerves calmed, and I determined to kill at least one of those Indians before alarming my comrades. All my dreams of glory suddenly faded as up bobbed the ears of a prairie wolf. I let the boys sleep 'till morning.

We moved camp some eight miles to the mouth of the canyon, where we prospected, finding indications of gold scattered through the gravel. Moving up the river over a very rough trail at a distance of perhaps twelve miles we camped for dinner upon a small creek coming in from the north. While the cook was busy, Powell sunk a shallow prospect hole and taking a pan of dirt washed from it a fine showing of gold. Immediately all were excited, and before dinner was ready, we were sure that we had made a valuable discovery. A mining district was organized, Maj. W. Graham being chosen president and myself recorder. The creek was named for Dr. Atkinson, (now Boulder) and the small one Powell's Run. The Boulder Mining District being organized, claims up and down the streams were recorded, and all joined in working on a pros-



pect hole begun by my partner, Bryan. We went down some ten feet, finding gold all the way, some pans showing as much as half a penny-weight, but we did not find bed rock.

Our provisions were exhausted and we struck across the mountain for Deer Lodge. We camped on the summit August 6th, it being bitter cold and ice formed a half inch in thickness.

We reached our home camp at the Johnny Grant houses to find that during our absence of sixteen days, at least a hundred of old miners had arrived from "Pike's Peak" the most of whom were dead broke—without money or provisions. Capt. Willard, who had remained in camp had welcomed them all, had dealt out our stores with a most liberal hand to all who would promise to secure us claims in any discoveries which they should make. His methods were not approved by most of his associates, and much friction was the result. Those of our party who had remained in camp had plotted "Deer Lodge city" at the junction of the Little Blackfoot and Deer Lodge rivers, and it looked like some newly projected Kansas town. When Deer Lodge city really materialized, its location was several miles up the valley. During the two days I spent at the home camp I was kept busy answering the questions of the "Pike's Peakers" concerning the new discoveries. When three of our party set out to return to Boulder, we were followed by a crowd of the new comers anxious to find some placer where they could get sufficient gold to keep them through the approaching winter. We camped again at the summit, (my fourth crossing) and once more suffered with cold. The same day Mr. and Mrs. Gould of our party left for Fort Benton upon their way to St. Louis. (When, travelling down the creek I told the "Peakers" that the discovery was but a mile ahead, away they went with a yell each determined to get nearest the discovery claim. Before I could unsaddle my horse some beset me to record their claims.

(To be Continued)



Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

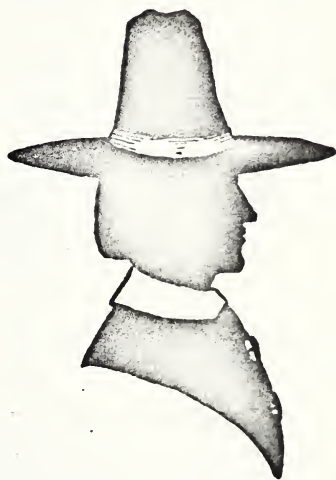
The article entitled "The Higginson-Skelton Migration to Salem in 1629," by Frank A. Gardner, M. D., is the final one of a series to appear in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, describing the various settlements in Massachusetts Bay, prior to the coming of the great migration under John Winthrop in 1630. The titles of these papers have been as follows: "The Founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony," "John Endicott and the Men Who Came to Salem in the Abigail in 1628," "The Settlers About Boston Bay Prior to 1630," and "The Higginson-Skelton Migration to Salem in 1629."

In these articles the purpose, organization, equipment, attainments and personnel of the various groups of settlers have been described. Biographical sketches of over eighty men who came here for the purpose of settling during that period, have been given. The great importance of the work which they accomplished cannot be over-estimated as they were the men who proved by their courageous endeavor, that a successful settlement could be made here. The migration which came under John Winthrop was great and strong and wonderfully well equipped, because those earlier men had shown to the men of England, what could be done here, and had thus secured their active co-operation and pecuniary assistance. To these early pioneers in the wilderness, the Massachusetts of today owes her existence, and her sons should forever honor and revere their memories.

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APRIL, 1913

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Imagined
Published Quarterly

The Massachusetts Magazine.

A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to History, Genealogy and Biography

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POINTERS FOR BEGINNERS IN GENEALOGY.

By CHARLES A. FLAGG.

The following notes are not designed to advocate a new system of printing genealogies. That found in the "New England historical and genealogical register" and known as the "Register plan" is in pretty general use, and nothing better offers itself. To be sure there is opportunity for individual preferences even here—personally the writer favors supplementary tabular pedigrees, at least for the earlier generations, and if possible would emphasize anew that he who neglects for any reason to provide a good index shows but scant respect for his own work or its users.

Manuals in plenty have been prepared giving various persons' ideas on the way to begin, systems of note taking, schemes of notation, kinds of paper, etc., etc. Assuming that all this is settled, we apprehend that there is considerable ignorance and uncertainty abroad as to the tools one has to work with—the actual reference books that can be consulted to aid us in the collecting of records and tradition.

To one essaying the history of a family, clearly the first inquiry (after gathering the personal records in one's own family) should be: What has been done already in this field? "The American genealogist, 5th edition, Albany 1900"* is a fairly complete list of separately printed family histories in the United States before that date. Don't forget however, first, that no bibliographical list is ever absolutely complete, when printed and, second, that many such family histories appear every year. For those since 1900 one can not do better than consult the notices and reviews in each number of the "New England historical and genealogical register," and later grouped in the annual subject index.

If it is convenient, consult also such important library catalogues as "A finding list of genealogies and town and local histories containing family records, in the Public Library of the city of Boston. Boston, 1900," 80 pages; and "American and English genealogies in the Library of Congress. Preliminary cat-

*Commonly known by the name of W. H. Whitmore, the original compiler.

alogue. Washington, 1910." 805 pages.

It may be as well to state here that in Boston is located the real genealogical headquarters of the country, the New England Historic Genealogical Society. One of this society's many invaluable services has been in the compilation of a manuscript list of family histories in preparation, which is kept up to date. It was first printed in the society's "Register" for 1906 and reprinted in pamphlet form as "List of genealogies in preparation." Supplementary lists have since appeared in the periodical from time to time. Those who are mentioned as engaged in preparing genealogies will usually be found willing to correspond with interested parties.

Only a small portion of genealogical literature, however, comes out in separate form as volume or pamphlet; by far the greater part must be consulted in local histories, periodicals and other works of composite character. A reasonably comprehensive index to this material is now and always has been, a desideratum. The best known attempt to supply it is the "Index to American genealogies, 5th edition. Albany. Joel Munsell's sons, 1900.*"

This aims to give under the family name, not only books and pamphlets, but articles in local histories,

society publications, magazines, etc., covering three or more generations. For publications since 1900, the publishers have issued "Supplement 1900 to 1908 to the Index of genealogies published in 1900, Albany, 1908," which is pitifully inadequate, in view of the enormous output of those years.

Another work, somewhat similar to the "Index" is Whittemore's "Genealogical guide to the first settlers of America" which was published in sheets for some years as a supplement to the periodical "Spirit of 76," and was never completed beyond the letter N., as far as known. Various libraries, in view of the demand for something better than has been published, have their own indexes; notably the Newberry Library, Chicago.

It is certainly to be hoped that the New England Historic Genealogical Society, which has begun the compilation of such an index will soon be able to begin its publication.

If the investigator has followed the lines indicated, he has probably found something at least suggestive if not actually helpful. But the search has hardly begun. Two broad lines of investigation are now before us, which we will term that of localities and that of names. Let us take them up in that order.

Beyond all doubt there was a

*Frequently known by the name of D. S. Durrie, compiler of the early editions.

"home town" if the family we are tracing was of the old New England stock, for our ancestors did not move so easily as do we of this generation. It makes no difference if this home was not the first American residence of the family. Clues leading back to that can doubtless be found if we can get our line located for a generation or two, before 1850.

Having settled on some town as the starting point, one can go to the nearest large library and ask if they have a history of this town. If they do, it can be examined; if not the search may be abandoned right here.

But let us go about it in a more scientific manner. In Massachusetts, vital records (births, marriages and deaths) have always been kept in the towns, while the settlement of estates (probate records) and the transfer of real estate (deeds) are in the care of the counties. "Report on the custody and condition of the public records in parishes, towns and counties, by Carroll D. Wright, Boston, 1889" shows just what manuscript records of these kinds there were at that time on file, and where. It is the first of a series of "Annual reports of the Commissioner of public records;" and later numbers, while chiefly administrative, give many supplementary data. It should be

noted that these reports cover also the church records of baptisms, marriages and deaths for all the towns, which are often of the greatest importance, especially in the case of the oldest town churches.

Certain of the towns have printed their early records entire or in part; and under a law of the commonwealth passed in 1902 for encouragement of such publications, alphabetical digests of the vital records to 1850 of about 150 others have been printed by societies and individuals. Many others are now under way and the entire state will probably be covered in time.*

So much for the official records. Considering next the mass of printed historical material, there have been several bibliographical publications devoted to this very subject.

Ludewig (1846) and Perkins (1876) give bibliographies of local literature for the whole United States, while Colburn (1871) is restricted to Massachusetts: Griffin's "Index" (1889) and its Supplement (1896) list American local historical articles in certain historical serials for a term of years, and "Poole's Index" and its supplements to 1910, and Wilson's "Readers guide" since 1900 give magazine articles on all subjects, alphabetically, and can be searched under name of town in which we are interested.

*This series indexes not merely the official town records but church, cemetery and even private family records, with greater or less completeness.

The "Guide to Massachusetts local history" published by the Salem Press Company in 1907 supersedes them all pretty thoroughly as far as relates to the state; listing not only books, pamphlets, articles in periodicals, etc., but also works in preparation, scrap books of local material, and unofficial manuscripts* such as the copies of local cemetery inscriptions, valuable to the genealogist and now growing very numerous.

One important feature of the last-named work is its maps, showing town boundaries. These should be used in connection with the note on territorial changes under each town. Many a searcher has failed to get on the right trail, through neglect to regard dates of organization of counties, the subdivision of towns and the transfer of a portion of territory from one to another. And it happens not infrequently that members of a family living near the border line of one town attended church or were buried in the neighboring village of another town.

Let us use the town of Westborough as an example. It was set off from the town of Marlborough, Middlesex County as a new town in 1717, and has since received accessions of territory from Sutton in 1728, Shrewsbury in 1762 and 1793 and Upton in 1763; and the north-

ern half of the town was set off as Northborough in 1766. When the new county of Worcester was formed in 1731, Westborough was made a part of it.

The town and church records of births, etc., before 1711 will, as a rule, be found in Marlborough (as there is no existing church in Westborough dating back of the incorporation of the town). But inhabitants of the southern and western parts of the town after 1728, 1763 and 1793 may have been annexed from Sutton, Upton or Shrewsbury in which towns their previous records must be sought. Turning to "Report on . . . public records" mentioned above, we find on page 292 that the town records are in good condition and indexed (with added information in 5th report, page 14 and 15th report, page 12. Page 78 shows what church records there are of existing churches while on page 139 it appears there are no extinct churches. Deeds and probate records before 1731 would be found at the Middlesex County court house in East Cambridge; after 1731 in Worcester, and reference to "Reports on . . . public records" again will show what records there are.

Amateur genealogists in this part of the country are pretty sure

*One line of work, the listing of manuscript diaries or journals was touched upon only incidentally in this work. Mrs. Harriette M. Forbes of Worcester, a most careful investigator, has been engaged for years in tracing and locating such material. When published her list with its local index will be a boon to searchers.

to pay too little attention to probate records and deeds at the county court houses. The searching and unravelling of these records is a slow and laborious process. This kind of investigation often gives the most wonderful returns and the results are the best check upon the troublesome cases of identity of name which are such vexatious sources of error. The difficulty of consulting such records as compared with those of towns and churches is doubtless the cause of this disfavor but we must remember that in other parts of the country, notably in the South, they are practically the only resource open to searchers.

For published works since the appearance of the "Guide" in 1907, there are the annual volumes of "Writings on American history," compiled by Grace G. Griffin;* while the "New England historical and genealogical register," publishes quarterly reviews of important books in its field, and the "Massachusetts magazine" has, from 1908 through 1911, a special department entering all historical material on the state: books, pamphlets and articles. The arrangement, by towns and counties, alphabetically, make the first and last of the three particularly easy of reference, but no notices and reviews are given as in the second named.

*Beginning with 1906.

The carrying out of these suggestions will put our searcher in command of the titles of about all there is on local history of any Massachusetts town. Some of the titles can probably be ignored but when one is sure of the locality of the family home, it is wise to glean his material pretty carefully. The undindexed pamphlets and works that Munsell's Index would never mention, offer solutions to many a genealogical tangle. And by all means scan the vital records of the neighboring towns for the family name. This always pays.

The local directories are very helpful for the last generation or two, and for many of the cities and larger towns begin in the earlier half of the 19th century. They frequently notice deaths and removals. Publications of Masonic bodies, old school catalogues, etc., are likewise valuable to the genealogist.

Let us now consider the other line of research mentioned—that of personal names; and we may as well start with the genealogical dictionaries of our early colonists. These are three in number: Farmer's "Genealogical register of the first settlers of America" 1829, a work of the greatest value, but largely superseded by the next mentioned: Savages "Genealogical dictionary of the first settlers of New England." showing three generations of those

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth, struggle, and achievement. From the first European settlements to the present day, the nation has evolved through a series of challenges and triumphs. The early years were marked by the search for a stable government and the expansion of territory. The American Revolution was a pivotal moment, leading to the birth of a new nation. The 19th century was a period of rapid growth and change, with the Civil War being a defining event. The 20th century brought further challenges, including the Great Depression and the rise of the atomic age. Today, the United States continues to shape the world, facing new challenges and opportunities.

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who came before 1692, four volumes, 1860-62. Though half a century has elapsed since the publication of this monumental work, it remains the standard to our day. We do not mean that new information has not been unearthed or that the work is free from errors, but Savage had just the peculiar qualifications necessary. He was so persistent in gathering data and so conservative in his use of them, that a statement made on his authority bears great weight. The two works named have the whole of New England for their field. Pope's "Pioneers of Massachusetts," limits itself to the one state, to immigrants before 1650 and their children only. A great amount of additional material unknown to Savage has been here made available, but we should say the genealogical world considers it a supplement rather than a successor of the older work.

In this connection, if there is a set of the "New England historical and genealogical register" at hand, do not fail to consult the consolidated index to volumes 1-50, one of the largest and most satisfactory pieces of indexing ever accomplished. The settlers who are not at least mentioned in the "Register" must be few in number.

If we are now so fortunate as to have found the earliest ancestor of our family, very naturally we desire to know more about him. Practi-

cally all our early settlers were English, or at least from the British Isles. Hotten's "Original lists of persons of quality, emigrants, and others who went from Great Britain to the American plantations 1600-1700" was published in 1874 (later appearing under title "Our American ancestors"). This is well indexed for reference, and the compiler gathered all he could conveniently find at the time, but the field has been much worked over since and more is being done every day. Consult also the contributions of J. A. Emmerton, H. F. Waters, Lothrop Withington, Elizabeth French and others, appearing originally in periodicals as the Essex Institute historical collections, New England historical and genealogical register, Genealogical magazine, etc., and for the most part reprinted later as separates.

This leads very naturally to a consideration of the transatlantic origins of the family: Marshall's "Genealogists' guide," 1903, for Great Britain, is very similar in scope to Munsell's "Index," and another work worthy of consultation is Gatefield's "Guide to printed books and manuscripts relating to English and foreign heraldry and genealogy." In case we have ascertained the English home of the family, we have Anderson's "Book of British topography," 1881, a bibliography of local history, and "Parish registers: a list



of those printed, or of which manuscript copies exist in public collections," 1900, and its "Appendix," 1908, issued as Publications 30 and 61, respectively, of the Parish Register Society, London. "Research in England, by J. Henry Lea," originally appearing in the "New England historical and genealogical register" April, 1904 to Jan, 1905 and reprinted as a pamphlet, is replete with suggestions from one who knew the field thoroughly. It contains lists of manuscript probate records of the English courts and marriage licenses of the various dioceses; classes of records that should not be overlooked.

Heraldic visitations of the various counties may be consulted, and Burke's "General armory" gives the armorial bearings of English families, which, however should never be accepted by Americans on mere identity of names—actual proof of descent from one who legally bore them is necessary and that is not usually an easy thing to secure.

The library of the New England Historic Genealogical Society has a splendid collection of parish registers, indexes to wills, and kindred books, which because of its accessibility and completeness is highly prized by the American genealogists who wish researches made in English records.

One can also consult the "List of

works in the New York Public Library relating to British genealogy and local history," published serially in Vol. 14 of the monthly "Bulletin of the New York Public Library," beginning June, 1910.

To return to Massachusetts, names of members of the family should be sought among the various publications whose indexes make reference easy. First, for the colonial period; in the Plymouth colony consult "Records of the colony of New Plymouth in New England," 12 volumes in 10, consisting of the court orders, judicial acts, laws, deeds, etc.; Peirce's colonial lists," by E. W. Peirce, which lists colonial and local officials in the colony; the various publications of the "Society of Mayflower Descendants," national and state, including particularly the indexes of its valuable quarterly periodical, the "Mayflower descendants"; also Bodge's "Soldiers in King Philip's war," for those who served from this colony.

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony for the same period, there are "Records of the Governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1626 to 1686," 5 volumes; "Record of the Court of assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692" (of which only the periods 1630-44 and 1673-92 have been published to date; volume III would complete the work).

Whitmore's "Massachusetts civil



list" for the colonial and provincial periods" gives those in public service, including the colony's freemen. See also Andrews "List of freemen" 1906, though lists of the colony freemen are printed in the Records and elsewhere.

And, bearing in mind that the first division into counties was made in 1643, and that from that date down to 1668 Suffolk included practically all the colony outside of Essex and Middlesex, the records at the court house of Suffolk County (now containing little more than Boston itself) which go back to the earliest days of the colony, are of the utmost importance.

Consult "Suffolk deeds" liber I-XIII, 1629-1686; also "Index to the probate records of the county of Suffolk. From the year 1636 to and including the year 1893," 3 volumes. Suffolk wills, 1639-1670 were copied by W. B. Trask and others and printed in "New England historical and genealogical register," volume 2 to 48.

Bodge's "Soldiers in King Philip's war," should also be used for that service.

The Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies were united in 1692. Whitmore's Civil list, already cited, covers the period down to the Revolution.

"The acts and resolves, public and

private of the province of Massachusetts Bay, 1692-1780," has reached its 17th volume, of which the first five give Public acts, the sixth Private acts, 1692-1780 and the others Resolves, etc., from 1692 down as far as 1764.

We are sure to be interested in colonial war service and while the state has published no lists for the colonial period, there is a very useful card index in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth at Boston, giving names of all soldiers from 1710 to 1744 as found on the state archives. The various publications of the "Society of Colonial Wars," national and state are helpful.

In the matter of Revolutionary service, Massachusetts is fortunate in having the full state records "Massachusetts soldiers and sailors in the Revolutionary war," issued by the Secretary of the Commonwealth and recently completed in 17 volumes.* The names are arranged in one great alphabet, with particulars of service and sources of information; but there is no attempt to give the histories of the regiments as such. Very little has been done in that line. Nathan Goold has prepared sketches of two or three which were raised in the district of Maine, and F. A. Gardner is publishing histories of regiments, one

*It must be remembered that these are only the official records in the state archives. There are other rolls and lists, manuscript and printed. The most important supplementary collection by far is the enormous mass of military records of the National government in Washington, in the Adjutant General's office of the War Department.

in each number of the "Massachusetts magazine" since its beginning in January, 1908.

For Revolutionary officers, the standard work is Heitman's "Register," which has brief sketches, dates of commission, etc., but is quite incomplete. It also contains lists of the regiments with field officers as far as known. A second and revised edition has lately appeared.†

The colonies maintained their own navies in the Revolution and also authorized privateering. Records of the men are to be found with the soldiers in the state publication mentioned; while records of the ships and their cruises may be sought in another series of articles by F. A. Gardner in the "Massachusetts magazine;" also in "Naval records of the American Revolution, 1775-1788," prepared from the originals in the Library of Congress, 1906; and "A calendar of the John Paul Jones manuscripts in the Library of Congress," 1903. These last two works are well indexed and give many names of individuals.

The various lists of United States pensioners are very valuable for genealogists. There are three such lists of special importance. "Letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a report of the names, rank and line of every person placed on the

pension list in pursuance of the act of the 18th March, 1818." This was the first general service pension law passed by the government and includes many names but few details about the pensioners; is arranged by states of residence, with names roughly alphabetized under each.

The next is the most important: "Report of the Secretary of War in relation to the pension establishment of the United States," 1835, 3 volumes.

The arrangement is by state of residence of the pensioner (not of war service) giving five groups under each state; 1st, invalid pensioners; 2d, heirs of non-commissioned officers and privates pensioned under act of 1816; 3d, pensioners under act of 1818; 4th, pensioners under act of 1832; 5th, beneficiaries under act of 1828, pensioning those who had been entitled to half pay or commutation for continuing in service till close of the Revolution. The work is not particularly easy of use, as each group is subdivided by county, and names are not strictly alphabetical.

By 1841, sixty years after the close of hostilities, the pensioners were reduced to a comparatively small number and there appeared the "Census of pensioners for Revolutionary or military service, with their names, ages, and places of resi-

†Calendar of the correspondence of George Washington with the officers of the Continental army, pub. by the Library of Congress, 1915 in 4 volumes, should also be consulted.

dence." This too is arranged by the homes of the pensioners. For our particular use, the arrangement of all these lists and their common lack of indexes are serious objections. Simply knowing, for example, that Thomas Brown served from Massachusetts in the Revolution, unless we know where he lived it is a weary search to discover if he survived in 1820, '35 and '40. respectively, or was pensioned at all.

Then there are the publications of the various patriotic societies: the D. A. R., D. R., S. A. R., S. R., etc., as well as the Cincinnati. Many of them give names of the members or their ancestors who were in service, notably the series of Lineage books of the D. A. R.

But not all Americans of 1776 were patriots; few American families were without their Tory representatives. The standard work in that field has long been Sabine's "American loyalists," which has appeared in several editions and is well indexed. Stark's "Loyalists of Massachusetts," 1910, is the latest work and should also be consulted.

Coming down now to 1790 "The heads of families at the first census of the United States in the year 1790" published by the Census office in 1907 is a most valuable reference book for the genealogist, being in reality a directory of the State, though the names are not arranged

alphabetically, under the various towns. Under the names of heads of families are columns for number of free white males over 16, under 16, free white females, all other free persons, and slaves. As the period just following the Revolution was one of unprecedented emigration, such a list at this time is a great boon. There is another publication for the same period which may be useful, "Marriage notices, 1785-1794, for the whole United States. Copied from the Massachusetts centinel by C. K. Bolton." Reprinted in Salem, 1900, from "Putnam's historical magazine" and its successor the "Genealogical quarterly magazine." 1894-1900.

There has been very little published in the way of rolls for the War of 1812* or the Mexican war. The next few years is likely to see much more of it, but Massachusetts by no means took the pre-eminent position at those times that had been hers in the colonial wars and the Revolution. The various records of privateering, 1812-1815 are largely of Massachusetts interest and several such contributions have appeared.

Taking up the Civil war, there is the 'Official army register of the volunteer forces of the United States army, in 8 volumes. Vol. I covers all New England, and gives names of officers with commissions

*A most valuable work has lately been issued by the state. "Records of the Massachusetts volunteer militia . . . during the war of 1812-14. Boston, 1913."

and casualties, with a full index of names. "Massachusetts in the army and navy during the war; prepared by T. W. Higginson," (2 vols., 1895-96) has statistics of each regiment, lists of men killed and those who died in service; also many details about the officers. It is fully indexed. There is as yet no comprehensive record of Civil war soldiers such as the state has prepared for the Revolutionary war, but the Reports of the Adjutant-General for the war period give original rolls, and most of the regiments have good histories, with lists of all men in the service.

For lists of Massachusetts rolls, etc., in all the wars, consult the "Bibliography of New England lists of soldiers, by Mary E. Baker," published in the New England historical and genealogical register beginning January, 1910 and reprinted as a pamphlet. Unfortunately it mentions only works found in the New York State Library, but still it will be found very useful.

In addition to the invaluable index of names in the New England historical and genealogical register, already referred to, there are certain other indexes of easy reference which contain a wealth of Massachusetts names; notably those to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st and 2d series, (20 volumes each, with a volume of index to each series) and the

"Collections" of the same society (now in their 7th series, of 10 volumes each, with a general index in the last volume); the Eben Putnam series of periodicals 1890-1908, (Salem Press historical and genealogical record, 2 v., Putnam's historical magazine, 7 v., Genealogical quarterly magazine, 5 v., and Genealogical magazine, 2 v.) and the Genealogical advertiser, 4 v., 1898-1901.

Another source of material not often used, may be found in the catalogues of some of our largest libraries, such as the Boston Public, under the family name sought: not only the subject catalogues for biographies, funeral addresses, trials etc., but author catalogues also for journals, narratives, memoirs, by members of the family, as well as the biographic sketches often prefixed to or included in monographs or collected works of authors of the name.

Examination of the general and biographical catalogues of the older colleges is often productive of results, as well as sketches of their graduates in the various wars.

It is well known that Massachusetts men have borne a large part in building up the communities to the westward, from the earliest times.

No sooner was the Revolution closed than there began an important emigration to Maine, Vermont, the upper Hudson Valley in New

York, and to Ohio, and these movements spread up the Mohawk Valley and all through the Old Northwest.

The loss of individuals in this great movement to the West has caused no end of trouble to genealogists. To search the local histories of these vast regions, way out to the Pacific for any single family is too great an undertaking. The present writer, feeling the need of a beginning in this field has been publishing in the "Massachusetts magazine," Salem, an index of the names of Massachusetts men and women who emigrated, as found in the county histories of Michigan (some 70 volumes examined): comprising not only Michigan settlers from Massachusetts, but ancestors of such settlers who are mentioned as coming from the state. This is to be reprinted with additions as a pamphlet. As far as known there has been no other attempt to make this class of material available.

Not all individuals whose names disappeared from view, however, were emigrants. From early times the General Court has authorized changes of names, and in 1893 the Secretary of the Commonwealth issued a volume "List of persons whose names have been changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892," with in-

dices of both original and adopted names. The annual volumes of "Acts and resolves passed by the General Court" supplement this.

Do not infer that the foregoing is anything more than a somewhat disconnected set of suggestions. It is not at all exhaustive, but surely no family historian can afford to overlook any of these sources of information. They will inevitably suggest others.

Aside from the New England Historic Genealogical Society the other notable genealogical collections in this country are Maine Genealogical Society, Portland; Maine Historical Society, Portland; New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord; New Hampshire State Library, Concord; Public Library, Boston; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence; New York Public Library, New York; Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York; Historical Society, all of New York City; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Library of Congress, Washington; Newberry Library, Chicago; State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison and Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis.

CITY OF BOSTON, FROM 1630 TO 1800.

BY JOHN H. COLEMAN, ESQ.,
OF THE BOSTON BAR.

PUBLISHED BY
J. B. ALLEN, 10 N. BOSTON ST.

BOSTON: 1850.

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REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

BY JUDGE FRANCIS M. THOMPSON OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

INCLUDING HIS NARRATIVE OF THREE YEARS IN THE NEW WEST, DURING WHICH HE TOOK IN 1862 A 3000-MILE TRIP FROM ST. LOUIS UP THE MISSOURI, AND THENCE DOWN THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS TO PORTLAND, AND TO SAN FRANCISCO, RETURNING IN 1863.

(Continued from No. 1, Vol. VI)

Immediately work commenced. Exciting reports came in of fine prospects, but ten, fifteen and twenty feet were reached, showing large boulders, and no bed rock could be found. The situation was exciting and desperate. These old experienced miners were without resources, could not get through the winter unless they could find ready gold, which they could not secure from ground which they thought to be rich, but was too deep and too full of great boulders to be worked to success before winter closed in. Immediate results could not be assured, and it was evident that all must go or all stay, as we were in the midst of the country of the wicked Crows who would surely rob any small party. Great tumult prevailed, and some of the rabble began to find fault with me for having led them into such a country. The more reasonable ones declared that I was free from blame, that the country was rich in gold, but that it would require too much money and time to reap results from it this season.

I pleaded with our men to stay, but they had decided to go to the Beaver Head country near the Three Forks of the Missouri. Some who had lost their horses were compelled to stay a few days, and one of our party took out a dollar and a half worth of gold in one pan of gravel. I told our men that we had supplies in plenty, and that we ought to take our chances with the Crows, and stay by the mines; but I was compelled to go with the others. We again crossed the main range, meeting many men hunting for the new mines.

On the 15th of August I reached the home camp, sore and vexed that our men had abandoned the Boulder. Most of them are bound for the

Beaver Head, but I decided to remain at camp until they got located somewhere. I again corralled two of Johnny Grant's cows with their calves, and I was thus enabled to luxuriate in fresh milk and butter. The two mountain streams which united in our door yard, were filled with fine trout. What we did not need while fresh we corned a little and then nailed them to the cabin walls to dry. I find that within two months I have ridden my black pony which was never shod, over seven hundred miles. After Bryan and the others of our party had started with the wagon for Beaver Head, Capt. Willard and I only remained at the home station. On a visit to Pioneer Gulch I found forty men working, claiming to average five dollars per day each. On the 19th of August fifty-two wagons came into Deer Lodge under command of Capt. James L. Fisk, having come overland from St. Paul, following near the British line. In the party I found an old friend, Nathaniel P. Langford, afterward appointed governor of Montana.

One day some deer hunters came to our cabin from up the Little Blackfoot, under considerable excitement, saying that just above they had seen a grizzly bear which was so large that they did not dare to attack him. Five of us armed with heavy rifles started to bag that bear. We reached an island in the creek which was covered with immense bear tracks and followed a fresh trail leading into some tall willows. I was in the rear. Soon the trail failed, and the leader shouted to turn and go the other way. This change brought me to the front, and picking my way along in a new direction, all at once the immense brute rose up within six feet of me from behind a clump of willows which he could see over, and giving one roar, he left those parts and so did we. Which was the most frightened I did not stop to inquire. Evidently he was not the bear we wanted. When telling the story to old Malcom Clarke, who had been scalped by a grizzly, he said we were mighty lucky to be scared for that if we had wounded him there, we would have been in great danger. Our small army returned to camp, one at least conning the old couplet:—

"He who fights and runs away
May live to fight some other day."

About the last of August a man came to our camp and told the following story, which afterward proved to be true. A few days ago three men came into Gold Creek diggings having an outfit of three horses and two mules. They appeared to be desperate characters and were gamblers, and gave their names as William Arnett, C. W. Spillman and B. F. Jernagin, and said they were from the west side. About a week after their arrival two strangers who said their names were Fox and Bull slipped into the settlement in the edge of the evening and finding James Stewart they told him they were from Elk City, that the three gamblers had stolen their

outfit there, and that they had followed them to secure their arrest and regain the property, and asked that the citizens aid them. Stuart promised all necessary co-operation. The searching party organized at once, and finding Jernagin in Worden & Co.'s store covered him with their shot guns and ordered him to throw up his hands and surrender, which he did without a murmur. Placing him under guard they traced the other two to a saloon where they were engaged in a monte game. Arnett was dealing the cards, and as the party stepped inside the door, and shouted, "Hold up your hands!" he instinctively grabbed for his pistol which was lying in his lap, when Bull shot him through the breast with a charge of buckshot, killing him instantly. Jeragin ran into a corner shouting, "Don't shoot, I surrender." The two were kept under guard until morning. The next morning Arnett was buried, the cards which he was dealing being stoutly clenched in his hand. A jury of twenty-four men was then organized to try the prisoners. Each had a separate hearing and Spillman was convicted and Jernagin acquitted, but ordered to quit the country in six hours, but he was sure that he did not need so much time. Spillman was a fine manly looking fellow of about twenty-five years and made no defence at his trial, but said that Jernagin was innocent, that he was only to be blamed for being in bad company. When informed that he was to be hung in half an hour's time, he simply said that he would like to write a letter, and in a firm hand he addressed one to his father which he left unsealed, in which he recited the circumstances, and declared that his ruin was owing to keeping bad company, that he hoped his father would forgive him for the stain he had brought upon his family, and that his fate might be a warning to other young men on the road to perdition. When asked if he had any other request to make, he said that he had not, and was ready for the end, although the time given him had not expired. He walked to the place of execution with firm tread, apparently less concerned than any spectator. These proceedings gave the settlement the name of "Hangtown" which clung to it for many years. A Mr. Wood came to our cabin from the Beaverhead mines bearing favorable reports from the discoveries. The next day Capt. Willard, Watkins and I of our company, and John Cummings, rode up the Deer Lodge valley bound for the Grasshopper mines. Antelope are seen in abundance near the foothills, but are very wild. The third day out we met Mr. King and Mr. Henry with our team, going to our camp for provisions. They had been surrounded by a war party of fifteen Flathead Indians who had been quite saucy and searched them for provisions. These Indians would hardly attack a white party, but there are mighty few Indians who will not steal anything they wish from a weaker party than themselves. The Snakes and Bannacks who infest the country between here and Salt Lake will attack any weak party they meet, when they think

they will not get whipped. They have already killed some fifteen whites and destroyed several loaded wagons. The Bannacks say there are but a few hundred whites and that they are all squaws—i. e., will not fight. One great trouble is to distinguish between the friendlies and the bad ones. At night we sleep with our guns beside us, and when particularly fearful we bring up our horses and tie the lariats to a corner of our blankets. Crossed the Rockies for the sixth time next day, and camped near the Wisdom or Jefferson Fork. Here we met Lynch, Mead and Eads of our party, bound for St. Louis. They had been cleaned out of provisions by the Indians, and we had to divide our scanty stock with them. They reported that our partners, Bell, Madison, Bryan and McLagan had drawn out of the company and taken a large part of the outfit. Willard, Watkins and I left the team with some others, and rode ahead for the mines. We made a secret camp way up in the mountain, after a long ride. While following an Indian trail in the hills away from the travelled road, in coming down a slope toward a creek we saw approaching a single horseman who did not discover us. Willard and I stopped at the creek, while Watkins in trying to cross some distance below, got mixed up in beaver dams, and at last coming out of the brush saw the single horseman, and thinking it was one of us, halloed and started on a gallop to catch up. The stranger thought Watkins an Indian and put his horse into a run in order to save his scalp. Away he went without looking back, and for forty years I have wondered who he was. On the 3d of September, 1862, we reached the mines and found our men getting dirt from a bluff about sixty feet above the Grasshopper which they pulled down the hill in rawhide bags, and washed in a rocker. They were getting from \$5 to \$12 each per day, while many who found pockets in the bed rock secured fabulous amounts. The next day I purchased eighteen feet of whip sawed boards, and made me a rocker, paying \$7.20 for the lumber.

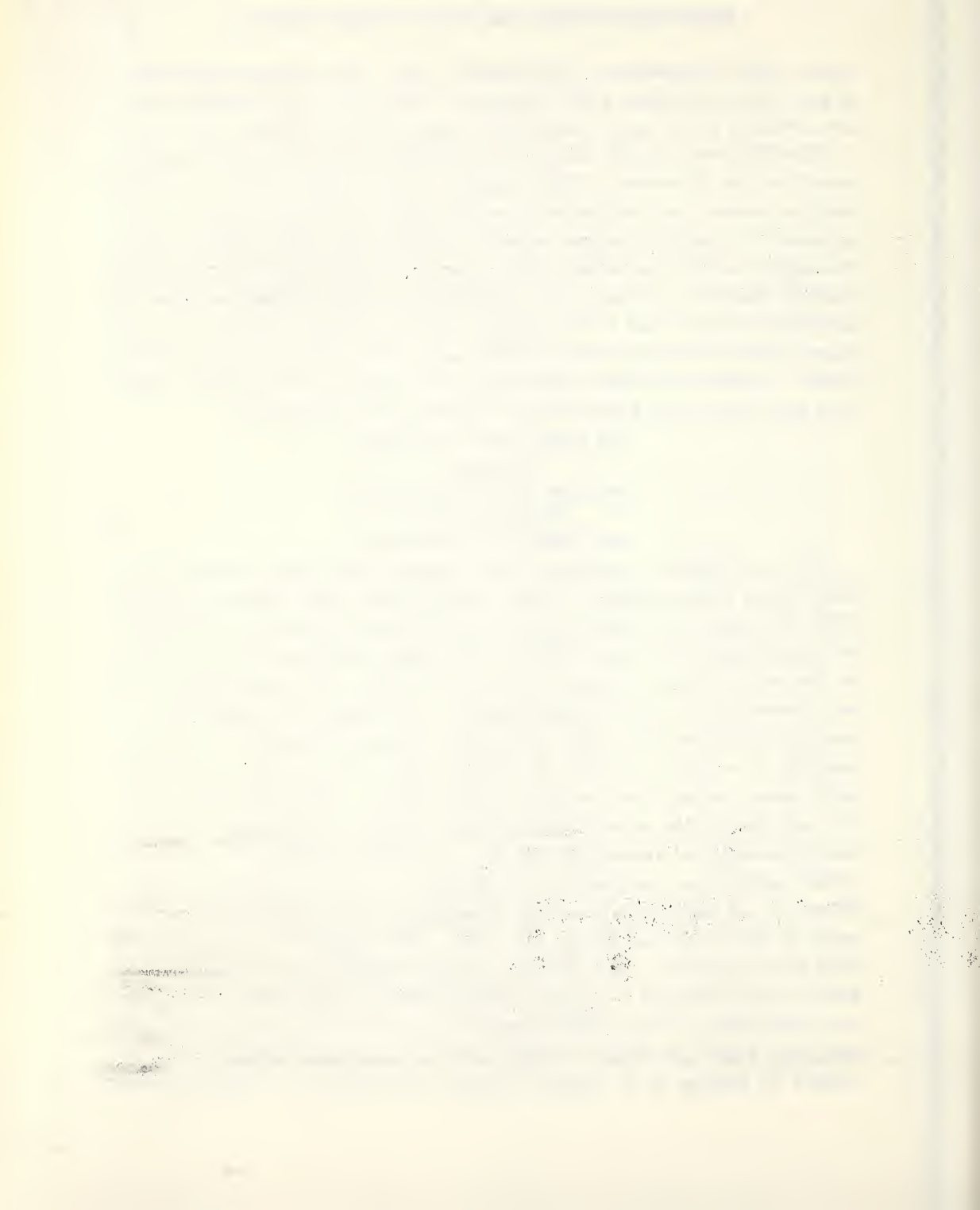
John White of Capt. Jack Russell's Denver party, first discovered gold on the Grasshopper. The party were on their way to Florence and Oro Fino, and had reached Fort Lemhi, a Mormon station on a branch of the Snake river, but found the season so far advanced that they dare not proceed, and turning eastward crossed the divide striking the Grasshopper. They were in that chronic state of miners, out of provisions, and knowing they could not live on gold, were just starting for Salt Lake

when a Mr. Woodmansee rolled into the valley with several wagon loads of provisions, including a full supply of "Valley Tan," or Mormon whiskey, which, a writer says, "caused the camp to become hilarious with joy."

The discovery of rich mines in the northern country was of immense benefit to the Mormons. They found a much needed market for their surplus produce and provisions of which they had great abundance, and of which the destitute miners stood in much need. Four hundred miles through an entirely unsettled country was a long haul, but the prices they realized made the venture very profitable to them. I find accounts of purchases for my retail trade of eggs (frozen as hard as rocks) at \$1 per dozen, butter at \$1 per pound and flour and other articles at proportionate prices. In 1862 on the Salt Lake trail at the junction of two creeks, nailed to a tree, was a board bearing the following lucid directions:--

Tu grass Hop Per diggins
30 myle
keap the Trale nex the blufe
Tu jonni grants
one Hunderd & twenti myle

Just as Watkins, myself and three others had begun mining operations I was taken suddenly ill, the first sick day I had experienced since I left St. Louis, but happily it was not of long continuance. We hired a team and hauled dirt from Buffalo gulch, about a mile and a half distant, on the mountain, and washed it out in my rocker. From ten buckets full we cleaned up \$2 and felt encouraged. On Sunday we suspended our work, but all around the camp were men trading, drawing dirt in wagons, packing it in bags on mules or donkeys and even on their own backs, while some worked their rockers by the stream. The shoemaker across the way has a side of sole leather drawn before the opening of his tent and is showing his respect for the day. A miners' meeting has been held to elect officers for the district. On Monday we put in a hard day's work. When we all gathered around the cleaning up pan and weighed the fine gold we found we had \$9 for our work. The results the two following days were no better. We did some serious thinking. We could not expect to secure enough to carry us through the fast approaching long winter, and taking counsel of Bill Hamilton, an old mountain man, (who said that very likely the Indians would drive us out before spring, if we succeeded in getting in a winter's supply of provisions,) I finally decided



to go to San Francisco for the winter, where I could be in communication with the company in St. Louis. Hamilton loaned me a horse to ride to Deer Lodge in his company, and with Watkins we set out, I riding a pack saddle for want of something better. I realized quite a little sum from the sale of my surplus provisions, at prices about five times those of St. Louis market. Our cook, a young fellow whom we had found working his passage on the steamer and took into our employ largely from compassion, begged of me not to leave him at the mines. I was fearful that he might suffer and took him along, though my means were quite limited. The Indians along the route were reported robbing all small parties, but we had full faith that Hamilton, with his well known skill would take us through, all right. On this occasion Hamilton much desired to take with him a big bull dog which he had purchased of some "tenderfoot." He said that he thought the ugly looking beast would "do up" the dog of a neighbor of his at Deer Lodge. This would amply repay for all his trouble and cost. We took a lively gait and the dog came on very well until tired out. After a little rest Hamilton attached a long lariat to the dog's collar, and all went well until the poor dog got his feet full of the long spines of the prickly pear.

The dog's condition compelled a half hour's stop for the removal of the thorns in his feet, and the escape of naughty words on the master's part, when we again took the trail. Soon, we saw Hamilton and the dog far ahead, the poor beast rolling and tumbling along the trail, dragged by the lariat, the master in worse temper than the dog, and as we came up he drew his pistol and threatened to shoot the beast. I put in a plea for the forlorn looking brute and by Hamilton's leave boosted him up upon the pommel of my saddle, or rather where the pommel should have been. In this way we got on ten or fifteen miles, and thus rested, the old fellow would run for a few miles, but either Hamilton or I carried him a large share of the 120 miles, which for fear of Indians we accomplished inside of 48 hours, but on our arrival at the Cottonwood ranch, we were in about as collapsed a condition as was the dog.

While in camp William T. Hamilton told me of himself. He was of Scotch and English blood, born near the Cheviot Hills in 1822. He joined at St. Louis in an expedition for trade with the Cheyennes when about twenty years of age. He found the tribe encamped near where the city

of Denver now stands. Learning that all the Indians from Mexico to the far north understood a sign language, he applied himself to mastering its mysteries, and so well succeeded, that when he became attached to the army, he was acknowledged to be the most skillful in this particular of any scout in the service. Employed under Col. Wright in the Spokane and Palouse war in 1858, he was present when the eleven chiefs were hung by him on the Spokane plain. At that time Col. Wright detained nine other chiefs as hostages for the good conduct of their tribesmen.

At a council of war it was decided that some knowledge of the condition and feelings of the tribes about the headwaters of the Missouri was most desirable, and Hamilton was asked if he would visit that region, make examination, and report. He told his commander that if he would detain the nine chiefs until his return, that he would gladly undertake the scout. To this Col. Wright agreed, and gave the proper officers orders to supply all Hamilton's demands. Taking with him one Alex McKay, whom he knew he could rely upon in any emergency, they set out upon their perilous expedition. They took with them five pack horses loaded with Indian goods, for trade and presents, and selected two of the best riding horses and the best equipments the camp offered. Hamilton took the precaution to obtain from Col. Wright a circular letter addressed to all Indian agents, directing them to supply him with any articles or aid which he might desire.

These instructions he placed in a large packet, sealed with the largest golden wafer that he could find at head-quarters, which he was certain would be looked upon as "big medicine" by all the surly Indians.

For the first two hundred miles his route lay through the country of those Indians whom Col. Wright had so recently thrashed, and had it not been for their knowledge that their chiefs were detained by him as hostages, the journey of the two scouts would have quickly ended. When detained by bands of warriors, Hamilton with great dignity and solemnity would produce his mysterious package, and proceed to read orders from Col. Wright such as he thought would best be suited to his surroundings. The name of Col. Wright commanded great respect among the rebel tribes at this time, and Hamilton generally soothed the wounded passions of the chiefs by suitable presents. His route was up the Clark Fork of the Columbia, and he reached the Flatheads, who were always friendly

to the whites, without serious trouble. They warned him to beware of war parties of Blackfeet, who could not be trusted in the least when in an enemy's country. In fact, a war party of young bucks when in an enemy's country will often attack white men, when they would not dare to do so in their own country. At that time the Blackfeet, Piegans and Bloods were in league, as one people, yet with a tribal distinction, and the Flatheads were at peace with the two first named tribes, but at war with the Bloods.

Two Flatheads chiefs announced their determination to go with Hamilton to the Piegan Agency, at the government farm on Sun river. Col. Vaughan, the agent, welcomed them and gave Hamilton all the information he was able to, regarding the Missouri river tribes, and advised him to visit the camp of Little Dog, head chief of the Piegans, then to the northward on the head waters of the Marias river. Striking the Marias, one afternoon Hamilton discovered three Indian hunters, who also discovered his party and fled to the northward. The two scouts and their Flathead guests immediately made camp, and the scouts, casting off their soiled clothing arrayed themselves in their finest, and awaited visitors. Soon twenty-five horsemen finely mounted and elegantly made up, according to Piegan fashions, came riding towards them at full gallop. When a quarter of a mile away, they fired their guns into the air, which is a universal sign of peace, and when thirty paces away they all "halted at a jump" as the trappers say. Little Dog and Hamilton advanced and shaking hands, greeted each other with usual "How! How!"

Little Dog arrayed in his war bonnet and all his war equipments, impressed Hamilton as being one of the finest appearing warriors he had ever seen, and when he presented to him his son Fringe, a fine young fellow of nineteen, Hamilton was so impressed that he gave to each a fine blanket. Distributing tobacco and other presents to be divided among the others of the party, he held a long conversation by means of signs with Little Dog, and producing the big packet with its golden seal he interpreted from it the request of Col. Vaughan, that being his friend he should also be the friend of Hamilton.

After a "square meal" the big chief and most of his followers departed, leaving Fringe and two other Indians to keep guard and bring the party to his camp in the morning. There was a feast in Little Dog's

camp that night, largely consisting of dainties presented by Hamilton. The proud Fringe and his guests were received with much ceremony in the morning, when he conducted them to his father's camp. The "Harranguer" was sent out to give the news brought by the scout, the people being eager to learn the result of the Spokane war. The announcement that eleven chiefs had been hung to wagon poles, was received with a loud grunt. Hamilton was given the name of "The Sign-talking White Man." Valuable presents were exchanged and then Hamilton exposed his goods and trinkets for exchange for robes and furs. His transportation outfit being quite limited he refused to trade for anything but the very choicest furs, selected from those offered him, for which he paid good prices. He felt it to be his duty to visit the northern Blackfeet, before his return to Walla Walla, but knew that he was taking large risks in so doing. Little Dog warned Hamilton that the Blackfeet could not be trusted, and said that while he might get out of their country alive, he did not think that they would ever permit his outfit of goods to be taken away. Seeing Hamilton determined to go north, Little Dog sent Fringe and three other Piegiens to accompany him, professedly as guides, but Hamilton felt that they were to protect him if necessary. In due time the little cavalcade reached the joint village of "Calf-shirt and "Father of all Children," and were received by those noted chiefs by ugly grunts, and hostile signs (well understood by Hamilton) to their retainers.

After a little time Hamilton brought forth his mysterious packet and although he eloquently interpreted the message of Col. Wright to his friends, the Blackfeet, he could not wholly gain the confidence of these wiley chiefs. He talked with them by signs, told them of the Palouse war and its ending, made some presents, opened his goods for trade, and got in some fine skins and robes, but the surroundings were all hostile. He told the chiefs that he should leave in the morning, and they were anxious to know the route he intended to take, but he claimed that he had not decided.

Fringe, while all were seated in the wigwam of Calf-shirt thought he saw a hostile movement and throwing off his blanket drew his revolver and launched out into an impassioned speech, and before he had finished the Blackfoot leaders bowed their heads in shame. Fringe and his men

promised Hamilton that they would go with him to the summit of the mountains, and the party got out of the hostile camp without an out-break, but it was evident that only fear of punishment by Little Dog and Fringe saved Hamilton from serious trouble.

Hamilton gave Fringe and his faithful friends each a revolver and ammunition when he parted from them at the divide, and not stopping to eat pushed on down the Big Blackfoot in order to put as much space as was possible between themselves and the ugly Blackfeet, before night overtook them. Hardly three hours of hard riding had passed when they were fired upon by three Blackfeet lying in ambush, but without effect, and the smoke had hardly risen above the bushes when Hamilton and McKay were upon their enemies with revolver and knife, and McKay seemed happy as he tucked three Blackfeet scalps under his belt. Before dark they ran upon a camp of friendly Kootnai, who were at war with the Blackfeet, and upon seeing the bloody scalps of their enemies, whom they knew had been spying about their camp, the village was turned into a pandemonium of joy and the scouts were warmly welcomed.

Early the next morning the Kootnai village was attacked by a large party of Blackfeet who had followed the trail of Hamilton, and he and McKay were then able to repay with interest, for the insults which they had received in the Blackfoot camp and upon their march. Although McKay and twenty Kootnai were wounded and four killed, they gathered thirty-five scalps from their dead enemies left on the battle field. The Kootnai moved westward to the Tobacco Plains, where they were again attacked by a large number of Blackfeet who were partially concealed in a "draw" and some woods, where the young Kootnai warriors attacked them in return, but could not induce them to come out and fight in the open.

Hamilton directed the squaws to soak a number of blankets for use in protecting the camp from fire, and told them to set the leaves and grass in the draw on fire, which strategy was a success, for as the Blackfeet fled from the flames the Kootnai with Hamilton and the wounded McKay rode down upon the disorderly mass, doing great execution. Exchanging presents with the delighted Kootnai, and securing a valuable addition to their stock of furs by barter, the scouts again took up their march toward the hostile Spokane and Palouse camps. By making a

long detour known to McKay, they escaped collision with any hostile Indians until they had almost reached the Nez Pierces, who were friendly Indians. Here they met three Spokane warriors who seemed undecided whether to stampede their train, or not. Hamilton showed them his packet, and told them he was Col. Wright's scout, and that if they did not go about their business that he would arrest them, when they made off, and left him to proceed on his journey. Soon after they found the camp of Lawyer, a Nez Pierce chief, who assisted them in crossing the Snake river, and without further adventure they reached Col. Wright's headquarters at Walla Walla, much to the relief of the officers of the post. They returned with two hundred selected robes, many elegant small furs, buffalo tongues, and Indian curio's of great value. Col. Wright urged Hamilton to remain in the service, but he had his heart set upon the Bitter Root country, and immediately made arrangements to return to it. Securing two years' supply of Indian goods, he soon retraced his steps, entering the Bitter Root valley by the St. Regis trail. After the organization of Montana, he served with credit as sheriff of Choteau county, and for a season as deputy United States marshal. This short sketch does scant justice to the life and services of "Wild Cat Bill."

The wild ride from the mines to Deer Lodge was too much for our charge. Little Stewart; and we left him at Johnny Grant's while the rest of us went to our old camp, where we found Messrs. Clow, Jones, Rev. Francis, and Mr. Mead of our party just starting for Walla Walla. They consented to wait two days at Gold Creek for me to join them. The next day I went to Johnny Grant's for Stewart, and found him pretty sick, but fearing to be left, he mustered up courage to return with me to our home camp. He seemed to be suffering from some internal inflammation, and heating a camp kettle of water I secured a barrel, and putting into it a package of mustard I gave him a hot bath, and coming out as red as an Indian, I put him to bed and he was soon asleep, sweating profusely. In the morning he was so much improved that he thought he could ride the twenty miles to Gold Creek, and we abandoned our cabin and started out for the Pacific coast..

At the summit of the first hill on our route, I discovered a herd of antelope, and stalking them succeeded in killing a large buck. While busy trying to fasten the undressed carcass to my riding saddle, a half dozen



Indians appeared and assisted me, and were made happy by receiving a few fish hooks. I saved my venison, but to do so, had to lead my horse and trudge on foot a dozen miles.

On the 20th of September, 1862, we were fairly started on our long journey. The party consisted of Messrs Clow, Jones, Watkins, Mead, Stewart and I, on horseback, and Mr. Francis, Dr. Riley and Stevenson in the wagons. Two yokes of oxen drew the large wagon, and four horses the light one. At the tail end of the latter a good cow was tethered. Stewart is glad to exchange places with Mr. Francis, and he and I ride ahead to secure game and select camping places. Once, riding down the Hell Gate, we saw some distance ahead, an Indian fishing. The noise of the river prevented his hearing our approach, and we were right upon him before he saw us. Completely surprised he dropped his fish pole and ran like a deer into the woods. Travelling through a pine forest, we found no feed for the stock, and when turned loose at night they often wandered long distances and we were often delayed in searching for them. We came at length to Mullan's long bridge over the Big Blackfoot, which was a picturesque piece of architecture. Built of large pine logs, its flooring was of split saplings, but it well answered the purpose for which it was built. Near here we met a large party of Flatheads on their way to the Missouri to hunt buffalo. The whole tribe seem to be on the journey of a thousand miles, taking horses, dogs, women, children, and all camping outfits, to secure a supply of jerked buffalo meat and skins for robes and wigwams. No buffalo are found west of the Rocky Mountains, and these western tribes run great risk of attack by hostile Indians in the buffalo country. Watkins traded ponies with the Indians.

We reached the Bitter Root valley settlements September 24th, and purchasing potatoes at three dollars per bushel, onions at seven, turnips at two and a half, and parsnips at four, we feasted on vegetables, the first we have had since we left the Emilie. Camped at a French settlement and have adopted a Pen d'Orielle Indian as a herdsman. Had shoes put upon my horse, as he was foot-sore. While waiting, the Indian stole my overcoat and ran away with unknown articles in the pockets. Made camp on the Shak-o-tay, having come but twelve miles. The Mullan road followed along the banks of the Bitter Root river, sometimes running up some little canyon, or over some rocky point which could not well be

otherwise passed. The scenery was most beautiful and the waters so clear that from high bluffs fish could be seen swimming in the stream. and Mr. Francis and I were able to keep the camp well supplied with beautiful trout. Every mile is blazed upon a post or tree with the letters "M R" and the number of miles distant from Fort Benton; the work of Governor Stevens' surveyors, for the Pacific rail-road. At times the road was very rough, and led over the tops of high mountains, and we often were obliged to camp in the thick forest. Having no forage we were obliged to turn our stock loose so that they might find feed, and in search of it they would stray, causing much vexatious delay. One day I rode on alone in order to obtain a supply of fish for dinner. The river ran in a deep canyon, but finding a ravine making down to it, I tied my horse and leaving my rifle near by, clambered down and working up the stream found a good place, and while intent on fishing, was startled by a war whoop. Two Indians were running up the other side of the river with guns in their hands. I concluded them to be Snakes, and abandoned my nice string of trout and scrambled up the side of the bluff displacing stones and brush and wounding my hands on thorns and briars, reached the top and regained my rifle. Then each party called across the river and abused the other, to their hearts' content, neither understanding a word that was said. Finding a suitable camping place I built a fire and waited for the train. Getting very hungry I ventured to catch some more fish, and broiling them, satisfied my hunger on fish alone. At dark no train having appeared, I curled myself up in my blanket in the roots of a big pine tree and slept, the train coming up late in the evening, having had a breakdown. They were much relieved to find me in such good quarters. They had picked up a Flathead on the way and he camped with us. Saturday night we were compelled to camp in a deep forest, and the next morning Mr. Francis and I struck out to find a camping place where feed could be found for the stock. After a "Sabbath day's journey," as Mr. Francis remarked, we struck Brown's prairie, finding every requisite for a perfect camping place. Building a fire, Mr. Francis and I caught a fine mess of splendid trout, this being the only time I ever went fishing on Sunday, with a Baptist minister. Three parties passed us as we lay in camp, bound for the new mines. Near night, Major John Owen,¹¹ proprietor of Fort Owen in the Bitter Root valley, made his camp with us, and when



we became acquainted he found that he had letters for Mr. Mead and myself. Mine was from my brother in St. Louis, and gave me the first information from home since I left in May.

While lying in camp Major Owen told me of a trip he made to his fort from the Dalles, in 1858, just after the Indians had heard of the defeat of Col. Steptoe, and the death of Captain Taylor and Lieut. Gaston, and the retreat of the army to Walla Walla. He was at that time government agent of the Flatheads, Pend-Orielles, and Kootnai Indians, and had with him twenty-five pack animals carrying valuable supplies. One evening seven or eight canoe loads of Yakima Indians made their appearance near their camp, all painted and rigged up for war, and evidently anxious to be insulted. The interpreter advised making a bluff, and so they built an immense camp fire, and all hands, himself included, caught hold of a dried hide and danced around the fire, beating the hide with billets of wood until they were nearly exhausted. Thus they showed their visitors that they were not afraid of them and were ready to fight at any minute. Much to their relief their visitors left, going down the river in their canoes before break of day. At another camp, when they started out in the morning, they were escorted by twenty-five or thirty warriors riding either side, keeping up a constant war-whoop, but finally leaving them without making an attack. He had with him Tom Harris and Henry M. Chase and their families, as well as his own, and also Charley Frush. A war party of Spokanes overtook them and they had a long "waw-waw" about Major Owen, debating whether to keep him, or kill him, as they said he "had big eyes and big hands, and that he wrote bad things about them to the 'Great Father' at Washington," but they kindly concluded to let him proceed on his way.

After a camp in the deep forest and hunting up our strayed stock, we came to the Bitter Root river where some "firster" had established a ramshackle ferry. We paid him eighteen dollars for our ride over, and the privilege of working our own passage. Here we caught a quantity of fine salmon trout very large and toothsome. They resemble in form the brook trout of New England, but are built upon a larger scale. Two miles beyond the ferry, we went into camp and loaded our wagons with grass, as we now leave the Bitter Root valley and cross the high range

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the Americas in search of a new life. These early pioneers faced many hardships, but they persevered and built a new society. Over time, the United States grew from a small colony into a powerful nation. It fought wars, both with and without, and emerged as a global leader. The story of the United States is one of resilience and innovation, of a people who have shaped the course of history.

The early years of the United States were marked by a sense of adventure and discovery. Explorers like Christopher Columbus and John Cabot opened up new worlds, revealing the vast potential of the Americas. These discoveries led to a period of rapid expansion and settlement. As more people came to the United States, they brought with them new ideas, technologies, and customs. This cultural mix created a unique American identity, one that has continued to evolve over the centuries.

One of the most significant challenges the United States faced in its early years was the issue of slavery. This dark chapter in our history is a reminder of the deep-seated inequalities that have shaped our nation. The struggle for freedom and equality has been a constant theme in American history, from the early years of settlement to the present day. It is a story of courage and sacrifice, of people who have fought for a better future for all.

The United States has also been a land of innovation and progress. From the invention of the printing press to the development of the internet, Americans have been at the forefront of many of the world's most important technological advances. These innovations have not only improved our lives but have also shaped the course of human history. The United States is a testament to the power of human ingenuity and the pursuit of a better life.

In conclusion, the history of the United States is a complex and multifaceted story. It is a story of growth and change, of challenges and triumphs. It is a story that has shaped the world and continues to shape our lives today. As we look back on the history of this great nation, we are reminded of the importance of resilience, innovation, and the pursuit of a better future for all.

of mountains of that name. There was no feed for our stock for the next seventy miles. In a drenching rain we set out to follow up the St. Regis Borgia river into the mountains, and were soon travelling in woods so dense that the road seemed walled in by immense trees. In this wilderness I killed many beautiful mountain pheasants, which were very gamey and much enjoyed by our party. Many of Captain Mullen's bridges had been washed away by the tumultuous stream, and progress up the mountain was slow and sloppy. We stopped at the forty-sixth crossing, and camped in a drizzle of rain and snow, listening nearly all night to the howling of a pack of timber wolves who lacked courage to come into camp. Watkins' horse was missing in the morning, and he and I, after two hours' search, found the beast snubbed by his trailing lariat. An Indian whom we met said the snow was deep upon the summit, which, after crossing the river twenty-seven times in our day's march, we failed to reach, and were compelled to pitch our tents in the road. Six inches of snow fell in the night, and some faint hearted ones wished to turn back. A rousing fire and a good brook trout breakfast, however, cheered them up, and we kept on our way, crossing the small stream nineteen additional times during the day. I rode ahead in order to hunt, but toward night, being cold, wet and stiff, in dismounting from my horse, the saddle turned, and my frightened horse ran down the mountain bucking and kicking, and nearly ruining my saddle. The men secured my horse while I tramped on and reaching the tall pole marked in feet, placed there by Captain Mullan, found but eight inches of snow. Waiting for the train I shot some birds and warmed myself at a huge fire, and measured some magnificent pines and cedars, over forty-five feet in circumference. The western slope of the road is a dugway cut through these splendid trees for two miles of sharp descent. Quickly descending this grade we soon made camp in a little round valley, containing every thing needful for an exhausted party. We are now at the head of the Coeur d'Alene river. Rain—rain—rain—all day and all night. In the morning Watkins' horse was missing and we discovered the reason that the Indians had for trading off that animal.

Traveling through a magnificent forest we crossed the stream twenty-seven times in fourteen miles. At one point the road ran across the top of a stump which was so broad that all four of the wheels of the ox wagon stood upon it at the same time. We have hardly seen the sun for

weeks and the stock have had little feed and are nearly starved, drowned, and frozen out. We have crossed the Coeur d'Alene river fifty-three times in traveling thirty-two miles. Arriving at a little prairie which contained good feed for the stock, we made camp and the blessed sun broke forth in all its glory. Mr. Francis and I soon caught a plentiful supply of trout and we are a happy crew. The approach to the Coeur d'Alene Mission, furnishes a most delightful landscape. The little church stands upon a slight elevation, and to us, who have not seen anything larger than a log cabin for months, the priests houses seem palatial. Near by, built of anything which could be used for shelter, are fifteen or twenty huts occupied by the mission Indians. The Indians are outwardly devoted, but we were warned by a good father to take good care of our belongings, as they were obliged to keep everything under lock and key, even the vegetables in the garden. A few of the Indians cultivate small plots of land, but this and an outward show of sanctity is apparently about all that the twenty-five years' service of the devoted priests has been able to accomplish in the civilization of these mild mannered natives. These earnest Christian men, who sacrifice themselves in their efforts to promote the welfare of these people, deserve a crown of glory, whatever may be their present success. We bartered all our surplus clothing with the Indians and purchased from the fathers a fine lot of vegetables and a young heifer for our commissary department. The next day was the most trying of our trip. It rained incessantly and we were obliged to cross the Coeur d'Alene mountains through thick timber with no feed for the stock. But the camp in Wolf's Lodge prairie turned our despondency into joy, at finding plenty of grass, wood and water. Game was scarce and we found it necessary to kill our heifer for food. One of our camps was beautiful beyond description. The mountains seem to flatten out, and in the midst there lies the picturesque Pend-Orielle lake, perhaps twenty-five miles in length and of varying width, the water being intensely blue and reflecting the woods and mountains by which it is surrounded.

Into this lake flows the Coeur d'Alene river, and its outlet is the Spokane, down which we make our way. A party of Spokane Indians camp near us, out on a bear hunt. I found that I could communicate with them by signs and what little Chinook I knew, and was much interested in their description of a successful horse stealing raid upon the Snakes.

They had with them the skin of a wolf stuffed with straw, in the belly of which a hole was cut to fit the head of the owner. An Indian put this upon his head and acting with the utmost caution crept to the summit of a little hill close by, and pretended as he peered over that he saw one Snake Indian guarding twenty horses on the plain below. By his signs it was easy to imagine that the party after travelling on foot several hundred miles had reached the outskirts of a large camp of their enemies, and were lying low in order to stampede a band of horses, and escape without loss to themselves. The wolf's head upon the hill, would to the horse guard be nothing unusual, and would create no suspicion of the proximity of an enemy. The war party go on foot, because the failure of their plans impose upon them a return on foot, which whets their boldness and daring. In this instance the skilled actor describes the discovery of the lone horse guard, and satisfactory band of horses, and marks out the way of covered approach within striking distance of the guard. Then on hands and knees the whole party creep towards the ravine leading to the plain on which the horses are grazing. Pointing to the sun they indicate that they are several hours in waylaying the guard, before they let go a half dozen arrows into his body. An Indian mounts the dead guard's horse and with a lariat captures one of the best in the herd, which is mounted in turn by a comrade, and others are caught until all are mounted and the whole band having stampeded the grazing herd started at full gallop for the Spokane country. They ride all night, and with much humor the relator tells of getting asleep and nodding as he rides, and when waking, shouting "Snake! Snake!" when all pushed on at a gallop until obliged to stop from exhaustion. Our entertainer pictured in strong colors their safe arrival at their home village, the people shouting at the waving of the Snake scalp, and the exhibition of the captured horses. The whole scene, lighted up by the great fire in the forest was weird and picturesque. An Indian is trying to trade me two horses for my gun, using signs and Chinook jargon, of which they know a little, and I not quite so much. The horses are "Nah-took-tchin-klas-klas" and my gun is "So-lo-la-me."

Following down the north bank of the Spokane we found a place which seemed fordable by the train. I rode in, to examine, but soon my horse was swimming. Having started in, I was bound to cross, which feat

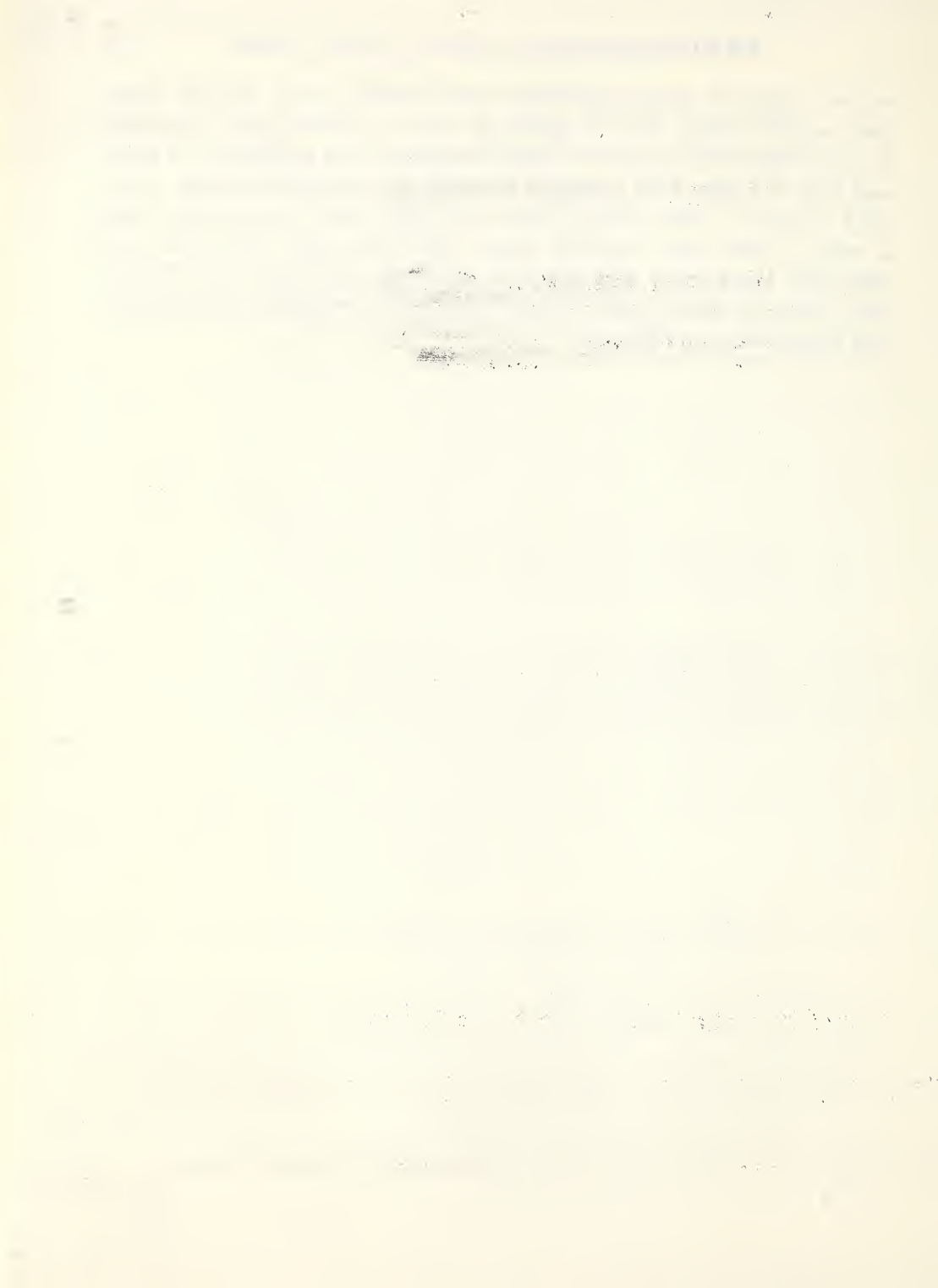
I accomplished, but my experience kept the others from the attempt to follow a fool leader. Some miles below, a bar was found where the wagons were crossed in safety, and we thus cheated some progressive ferrymen out of eighteen dollars. Soon after crossing we found the prairie covered with bones, which we afterward learned were the remains of about eight hundred horses, which Col. Wright had killed at the time he hung the rebellious Spokane chiefs to his wagon poles, which strenuosity brought the humbled warriors to a lasting peace. We are travelling over a high volcanic plain, and standing by the roadside is a tree on which is cut "M R—144" indicating that old Fort Walla Walla is still that distance from us. In what seems to be an old crater is a beautiful blue lake, (Medicine Lake) but the surrounding country having lately been burned over, there is no feed for our stock. We are travelling over a country covered with sharp volcanic rocks, and our poor cattle suffer terribly both for food and good water, nearly all the streams we have found being strong of alkali. On the road we met a half dozen squaws with a pack train loaded with dried salmon from the Columbia. The lordly bucks compel the women to do all the packing, they coming along when they please. A lusty squaw sits astride a big pack and from a pocket hanging by her side peers a "little Indian" whose keen black eyes glitter like those of a snake. As the leading squaw came over the hill ahead of us, she had a papoose board on her back projecting far above her head, and her appearance suggested to me the Queen of Sheba. What water there is on this volcanic plain runs in cracks deep down in the rock and is hard to get at. As I sit alone in utter desolation, the whole country having been burned over, these words of Shelley cross my mind,

"Is this the scene

Where the old Earthquake-demon taught her young
Ruin? .Were these her joys?"

Camped on the "Oraytayoose" which I take it must mean, "The little alkali creek which runs in the crack in the ground." Watkins' horse for the twentieth time is again missing. Mead, Stewart and Watkins hunted him in vain, and came into camp at night without tidings of him, and are sure that he has been stolen. After a weary time we reached the Palouse river and caught a fine lot of trout for supper. We passed the Palouse falls after dark and came to Snake river late at night. Tying the stock

to the wagons we went supperless to our blankets and at daylight found that we were along side the graves of a lot of Indians who were killed in the Indian war, the graves being surrounded by an apology for a fence, and upon the rails were stretched the dried and shriveled remains of the dead warriors. After ferrying across the Snake river we went into camp a mile or more from the ferry ranch, where our stock could find feed. Here Mr. Mead and I determined to exchange our horses for a Hudson Bay Company batteau, and take our chances in navigating the Columbia and Snake rivers to Portland.



COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S REGIMENT

COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S LEXINGTON ALARM REGIMENT, APRIL 19, 1775
COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S 28TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES,
JULY-DECEMBER, 1775.

By FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

In a petition addressed to the Provincial Congress at Watertown, signed by Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent, he made statement as follows:

That upon the alarm of April 19, 1775, while at Amherst, New Hampshire, he had raised 109 men, and marched with them to Concord (Massachusetts) and was there chosen by the officers of seven companies from Hillsboro County, New Hampshire as their commanding officer; that on April 21, 1775, he was ordered by General Ward to march to Cambridge with the troops then at Concord; that on April 25, 1775 he had received orders from the Committee of Safety for raising a Regiment, which, if not taken into the service of New Hampshire was to be in the pay of Massachusetts until discharged, etc.

Two of the companies whose rolls appear in the Minute Men rolls in the Archives were therein credited to Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Lexington Alarm Regiment. Namely the company of Captain William Scott, with First Lieutenant William Scott, Jr., and Ensign William Cochran, and the Company of James Perry (no town given). The name of Major Jonathan Austin also appears on the roll of Captain William Scott's Company. In the Archives, Volume 146, Page 16, the following list of Companies in Colonel Sargent's Regiment is given, dated April 23, 1775:

1st Co. Captain Josiah Crosby; 3 subalterns, 2 sergeants and 82 privates.

2nd Co. Captain Levi Spaulding; 2 subalterns, 4 sergeants, 2 corporals and 45 privates.

3d Co. Captain Benjamin Byron; 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants and 37 privates.

4th Co. Captain Jonathan Burton; 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, and 33 privates.

5th Co. Captain Benjamin Man; 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals and 24 privates.

6th Co. Captain Isaac Baldwin, 15 privates.

Stephen Peabody, Adjutant."

In addition to Major Austin one other staff officer of this regiment was credited with service from April 20, 1775, namely Quartermaster Osgood Carlton of Lyndeboro. (See notes under Captain Jeremiah Stiles.)

In the petition above referred to, Colonel Sargent stated further "that on May 25, 1775, he had nine companies completd, three of which had been in camp continuous from April 21, 1775."

"In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, June 9, 1775.

The Hono., the Provincial Congress at Watertown
Gentm.

Collo. Sargent of New Hampshire having applied to this Committee for direction respecting four Companies of men Inlisted under him in the service for this Colony we beg leave, to State the facts to your honours. From the exegencies of the time on the 25th April past Collo. Sergeant received Encouragement from this Committee to Command a regiment, and received beating orders for the raising the same on the following Conditions. Vizt. should he fill sd regiment and the province of N. hampshire affsd would not take him with his regiment into their service, in that Case he should be Established in the Service of the Colony of Massachusetts, it appears from the accts he has given the Committee that he has only four Companies at head Quarters and that there are some Others Inlisted and now at hampshire and desires he may be directed wether to hold or discharge sd men, this Committee apprehnds should sd four Companies be discharged from the Service of this Colony they would Immediately Enter into the Service of N. hampshire, and we apprehend the army of 13,600 would be Complett without sd men, are of Oppinion it would be prudent they be dismissed from the Service of this Colony. The whole of this matter we Submit to your honours. You will act thereon as you in your wisdom shall seem meet. We are with the greatest respect your most humble servants."

On the 17th of June, 1775 Colonel Sargent again sent a petition to the Provincial Congress, the first part of which was substantially as follows:

"That your petitioner finding that he could not be taken into the Service of New Hampshire. because he took Orders from the Committee of Safety of this Colony, without consulting a Body not in Being untill 17th of May apply to said Committee on the 7th Instant, who by a Letter of the



9th referred your petitioner to your Honors. Your petitioner not having heard your determination with Regard to him humbly takes this method to pray your Honors would take his Case into Consideration, and establish or discharge your petitioner and men as your Honors in your great Wisdom shall see fit.

And your petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray, etc.

PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT."

In 'the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17. 1775, Colonel Sargent was one of the officers who refused to recognize the authority of General Putnam, for in a letter dated Dec. 20. 1825 he wrote that Putnam "sent an officer to order me onto the Hill, but finding I did not attend to his order he sent a second, whom I took no notice of, a third came open mouthed, saying," etc. From records in the Archives we know that Colonel Sargent lost articles at either Lexington or Bunker Hill valued at 12 shillings. The following letter shows the location of at least a part of Colonel Sargent's command just after the Battle of Bunker Hill:

"Sirs:

Deliver for Captain Murray's Comy Provin for 40 men a Company stationed at Inman's General Ward's Ord under my command.

June 19, 1775.

P. D. SARGENT.

To Comis Pigeon."

His full list of staff officers to June 20, 1775, was as follows:

"Col. Paul D. Sargent, Amherst, April 20. 1775.

Lt. Col. Aaron Cleveland, Canterbury, May 21, 1775.

Maj. Jona. W. Austin, Boston, April 20, 1775.

Adj. Peter Dolliver. Cape Ann, June 20, 1775.

Qt. Mr. Osgood Carleton, Lineborough, April 20, 1775

Surgeon Parker Cleaveland, Ipswich, May 22, 1775.

Surgeon's Mate Josiah Holt, June 5, 1775.

Chaplain Eben R. Sweetland, June 12, 1775."

He received answer to his petition to the Provincial Congress at Watertown under date of June 22, 1775 as follows:

"The Committee appointed to Take into Consideration the Petition of Colonel Paul Dudley Serjant Beg Leave to State Several Facts & to Report Viz. That the Said Col. Serjant March'd from New Hampshire to Concord soon after the Battle of Lexington that he there had the Command of Nine Companies of New Hampshire Troops (or militia) from thence March'd to Cambridge where Six of his Companies have Disbanded Themselves the three Remaining Companys with the Said Mr. Serjant

have been Ever since in Camp Doing Duty. And that the Committee of Safety on the 25th of April Last by their Resolve Desired said Col. Serjant to enlist Ten Companies from among the Troops of the Colony of New Hampshire to Remain in the pay of this Colony Untill Discharged or Taken into the Service of the Colony of New Hampshire. Furthermore your Commite Beg Leave to Report that Said Colo. Serjant shall be Commissioned by this Honble Congress Provided he Compleate and fills up the Regiment within Twenty Days from this Time, & that the Same be well Armed and Accoutered.

All which is Humbly Submitted

E. PARKS
Pr. Order."

When the Army of the United Colonies was organized in July, 1775, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment was numbered the 28th. The following list shows the names of the towns represented in this regiment.

Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment:

Captain George Gould, Dedham, Milton, Etc., Providence, etc.

Captain Frederick Pope, Bridgewater, Stoughton, Braintree, Boston, Easton, Middleboro, Pembroke, Plympton.

Captain Jeremiah Stiles, Keene, Marlow, Gilsum, Walpole (N. H.), Surrey, etc.

Captain James Keith, Middleboro, Attleboro, Rehoboth, Bridgewater, etc.

Captain John Wood, Westminster, W. Coleraine, N Providence, Wilton, Woburn, etc.

Captain James Perry, Taunton, Mansfield, Attleboro, Raynham, Londonderry, etc.

Captain John Wiley, (later Moses Hart) Manchester, Salem, Gloucester, Providence, etc.

Captain William Scott, Peterboro, Londonderry, Stoddard, Windham, etc.

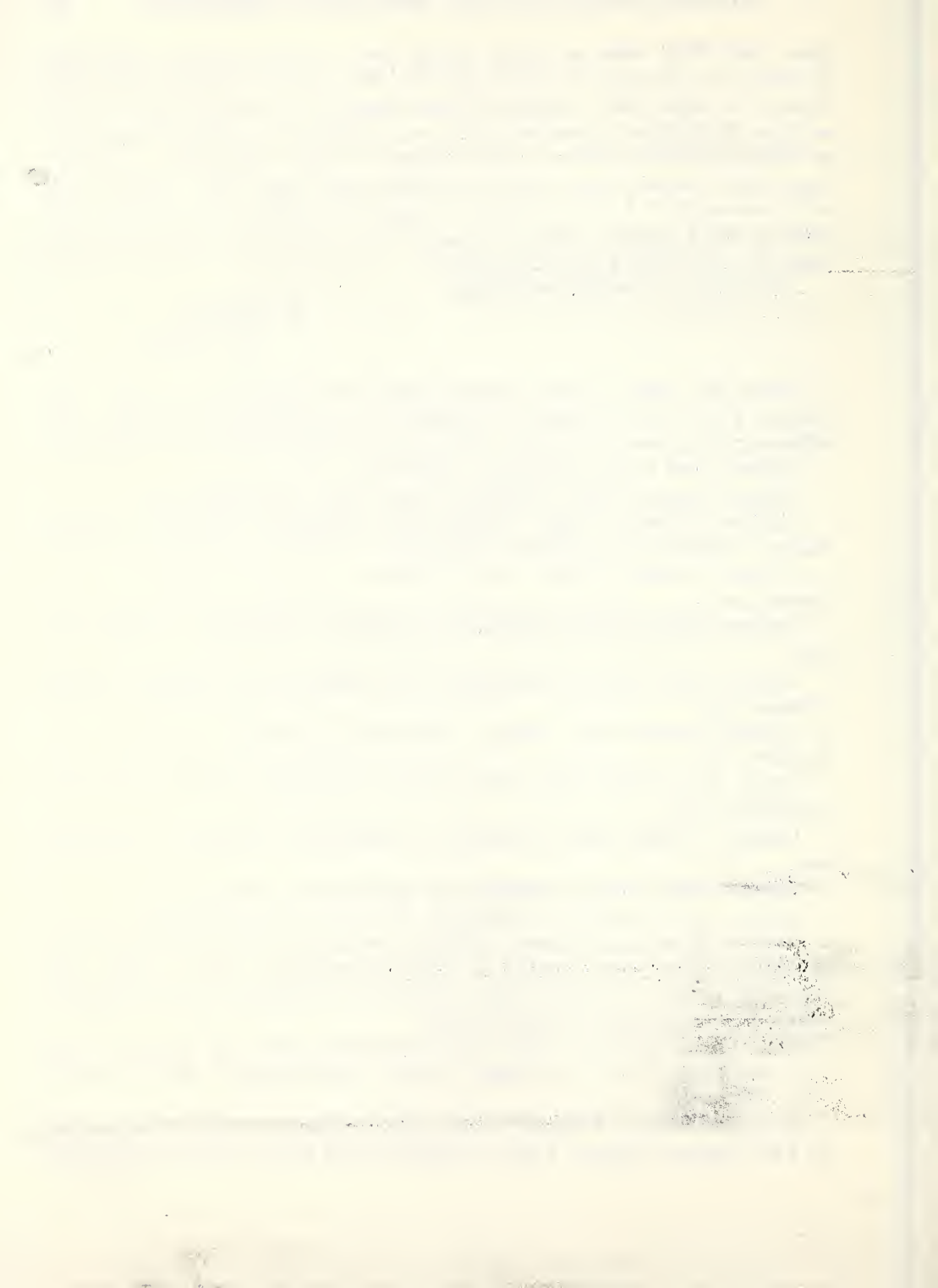
Captain John Porter, Bridgewater, Middleboro, Braintree, etc.

Captain Jesse Saunders, Rehoboth, Providence, Taunton, etc.

Captain Scott's and Captain Stiles's Companies from New Hampshire as named above were ordered to join this regiment July 7, 1775. The following letter of Captain Stiles shows how members of his Company suffered in the Battle of Bunker Hill:

"To the Honourable the Council and the Honourable the House of Representatives of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay Humbly Showeth

Jeremiah Stiles a Captain of the 28th Regiment of foot, Commanded by Paul Dudley Sargent, Esqr. in behalf of the Men under his Command



whose names are hereafter named, That the Said Men were in the Action of Chelsea and Bunker Hill on the 17th of June last. These transactions are too well known to your Honors to need a Recital. You are sensible many who were then engaged had the Misfortune to lose a Quantity of Cloathing and firearms. In that number were the men in whose behalf your Petitioner applies. The articles lost are hereunton annexed. Your Honours are not unacquainted with the Situation of the Army in this Distressing Period. Many of them have Cloathing but little suited to the Inclemencies we may expect for the Season. These men in Particular Deprived of Cloathing and Firearms they brought with them must Suffer in a great degree. As their Cloathing and Firearms was lost while we were hazarding our Lives in Defence of a Cause, which we Glory in defending, we Pray your honours that we may be again Supplied,

And in Duty bound shall every Pray

JEREMIAH STILES, Capt."

The following were delivered officers in Colonel Sargent's Regiment, July, 7, 1775:

Captain Wood	20 cartridge boxes
John White	20 cartridges boxes

Fifteen small arms were delivered by the Committee of Safety, July 8, 1775 "for the use of Colonel Sargent's Regiment, amounting, as by appraisement, to twenty-seven pounds, three shillings, for which receipt has been taken in the minute book."

"A Return of Collo. Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, July 24, 1775. 6 Captains present Viz.

Captain Scott	64 men
Captain Stiles	72 "
Captain Saunders	55 "
Captain Gould	30 "
Captain Woods	36 "
Captain Heart	37 "

294 men

Captain Porter is full but not arriv'd
 Captain Monks is full but not arriv'd
 Captain Hall is full but not arriv'd
 Captain Perry has 30 men but not arriv'd

The Lieutenants of Gould, Wood and Heart are out recruiting & we have heard have good Success."

"In House of Representatives July 26, 1775

Whereas a Return has been made by Coll. Paul Dudley Sargent of the Number of Men in his Regiment.

Resolved.

That the Sd Colo. Sargent be directed to give Orders for his Companies that are inlisted but have not yet joined the Army immediately to march to the Camp & that if Sd Collo. Sargent shall raise a full Regiment of able bodied effective Men well armed and accoutred then" (remained of the communication not preserved in the Archives).

A roll of the companies dated August, 1775, gives the names of the company officers as follows:

"Captain George Gould	Dedham
1st Lt. Timothy Stow	Dedham
2d Lt. Ephraim Cleveland	Equivalent
<hr/>	
Captain Moses Hart	Lin
Ensign Moody Austin	Litchfield
<hr/>	
Captain James Keith	Easton
Lt. Jonathan Drown	Rehoboth
Ensign David Thomas	Middleborough
<hr/>	
Captain James Perry	Easton
Lt. Thomas Nichols	Society
Ensign Josial Smith	Taunton
<hr/>	
Captain Frederick Pope	Stoughton
Lt. Eleazer Snow	Bridgewater
Ensign Zaccheus Thayer	Braintree
<hr/>	
Captain John Porter	Bridgewater
Lt. Isaac Fuller	Easton
Ensign Isaac Thayer	Braintree
<hr/>	
Captain William Scott	Petersboro
Lt. William Scott	Petersboro
Ensign William Cochran	Stoddard
<hr/>	
Captain Jeremiah Stiles	Keene
Lt. Lemuel Holmes	Walpole
Ensign John Griggs	Keene
<hr/>	
Captain Jesse Saunders	Providence
Lt. John Wyley	Providence
Ensign Aaron Stratton	Littleton

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Captain John Wood

Lt. Nathaniel Doubleday

Lt. George Reed

Lt. George Read

Colerain

Westminster

Woburn

Woburn"

"Camp at Cambridge, September 4, 1775.

Gentlemen

Col. Sergeant has applied to me for his Commission in the Continental Army & I have no Objection to comply with the Request, but his not having received one under the Legislature of this Province. But as I do not mean to confine myself to Forms, if he has been considered by this Government as an Officer authorized to raise a Regiment and would have received a Commission on the Provincial Establishment and you will signify this to me for my Government & Security, I shall make no Difficulty to grant a Commission to him on the same Terms as are prescribed to other Officers.

I am, Gentlemen, most

respectfully

Your obdt & Very

Hbble Serv.

GO. WASHINGTON.

The Prest of Council

Massachusetts Bay."

"The Committee appointed to Consider Genl Washington's Letter Relative to the Commissioning Coll. Paul Dudley Sergeant have enquired into that matter and find that on the 22d of June last he Received Encouragement from the Late Congress of the Colony that in Case he should fill up his Regiment in Twenty days well armed and accoutered he should be commissioned; which if he has complied with your Committee are of Opinion that as he and some of his Company's have been in service from the beginning their commissions ought to bear date when the others did; and the other officers should be Commissioned from the time they entered the service.

JOHN WHITCOMB

and Order.

In Council September 11, 1775.

Read & accepted & ordered that the Said Paul D. Sargeant and the Officers in his Reg't be recommended to his Exy. General Washington to be commissioned accordingly.

PEREZ MORTON,

Dey. Secy."

"A list of Officers in the 28th Regiment of Foot in the Continental Army:

Paul Dudley Sargent	Colo.	George Gould	Capt.
Aaron Cleveland	Lft. Colo.	John Wood	Do.
Jona. Willm Austen	Major	John Porter	Do.
Willm Scott	Capt.	James Perry	Do.
Jeremiah Stiles	Do.	James Keath	Do.
Fredr. Pope	Do.	John Whyley	Do."

No date is appended to this list but it was probably made out about September, 1775.

The Regiment was stationed at Inman's Farm, September 30, 1775. A list of the officers of the company commanded by Captain John Wood of Colerain, October 6, 1775, was as follows:

- 1st Lt. Nathaniel Doubleday, Westminster.
- 2nd Lt. Joseph Abbott, Wilton (on furlough)
- 2nd Lt. George Reed, Woburn (dead)
- 1st Lt. Abijah Moore, Putney (discharged)

Records in the Archives show that the regiment was still at Inman's Farm October 18, 1775.

Sixteen officers of this regiment had seen service during the French and Indian War or in the Militia, two holding the rank of Captain and two that of Lieutenant.

The strength of the Regiment during its term of service is shown in the following table:

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Com.	Rank & File	Total
July 24 (294 men)					
Aug. 18	26	5	54	403	488
Sept. 23	27	5	51	419	502
Oct. 17	22	3	54	432	511
Nov. 18	22	4	54	412	492
Dec. 19	17	4	37	225	283

The officers of this regiment, attained rank as follows during the American Revolution; colonel 1, lieutenant colonel 2, major 7, captain 22, first lieutenant 8, second lieutenant 4, ensign 2, chaplain 1 and surgeon 2.

COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT of Amherst, N. H., was born in Salem, Mass., 1745. He was the son of Colonel Epes and Catherine (Winthrop) Sargent. His father was Colonel of Militia before the Revolution and a Justice of the General Sessions Court for more than thirty years, dying in Gloucester in 1762. The son, Paul Dudley, was

brought up in Gloucester, Mass. It is said that in 1772 he met John Hancock and Samuel Adams at a club in Boston, and that the question discussed there was the organization of the militia. Shortly after this he returned to Gloucester and joined a company organizing in that town. Owing to the fact that in some way he became obnoxious to the Government, he removed to Amherst, N. H., where he soon raised and trained a large company. He was a resident in that town at the breaking out of the Revolution. In July, 1774, he was a deputy for the First (New Hampshire) Provincial Congress from Amherst, N. H. October 24, 1774, at a town meeting of that town, he was chosen chairman of a committee "to use their endeavours to Secure and Maintain Peace & good Order in this Town . . . and incite in the minds of the People a due Respect to all measures that may be recommended by the present grand Congress at Philadelphia." He represented the town again in the Second (New Hampshire) Provincial Congress, January 25, 1775 and April 5, 1775 was a member of the Hillsboro County Congress. On the 7th of that month he was appointed chairman of a committee of the last named Congress "to call a meeting of the County when they shall see occasion therefor." April 21, 1775, he was a member of the Third (New Hampshire) Provincial Congress at Exeter, New Hampshire. May 4, 1775 he was chosen a member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives for Amherst and Bedford and on the 17th of that month was a member of the Fourth (New Hampshire) Provincial Congress at Exeter. Upon the Alarm of April 19, 1775, while at Amherst, N. H., he "raised 109 men, and marched with them to Concord (Mass.) and was there chosen by the officers of seven companies from Hillsboro County, New Hampshire, as their commanding officer." His subsequent record during 1775 has been given in full in the historical section of this article. During 1776 he commanded the 16th Regiment in the Continental Army. September 26, 1778, he was chosen Colonel of the 6th Regiment of Militia in the County of Essex and his commission is preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 223, Page 21. He held this office until June 5, 1779 when he resigned "on account of personal affairs, obliging him to leave the State for a time." The Revolutionary War almost ruined him financially. He had a large interest in vessels which were lost by capture or shipwreck. He was an intimate friend of Lafayette and was invited to meet him in 1824, but was prevented on account of his advanced age at that time. After the war he engaged in commercial pursuits but was unsuccessful and finally retired to a farm in Sullivan, Me. He was Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Hancock County, Maine, for many years. He was a Judge of the Probate and Representative to the General Court. He also served as postmaster and an overseer of Bowdoin College. He died September 28, 1827, aged 88 years.



LIEUT. COLONEL AARON CLEVELAND of Canterbury, Connecticut, was the son of Josiah and Abigail (Pain) Cleaveland. The father, Josiah was one of the original settlers of the above named town. Rev. John, brother of Aaron, in the journal which he kept during the French war, mentions calling upon Aaron at Fort William Henry, July 21, 1758. In March, 1758, he was First Lieutenant in Major Israel Putnam's Company, in the 3d Connecticut Regiment. In Oct. 1762, he was Ensign in the 16th Company, 12th Regiment of Connecticut and in May, 1764, was Captain of the same company. In May, 1770, he became Captain of the 9th Company, 11th Regiment. He represented Canterbury in the Connecticut General Assembly in October, 1768 and also in 1769 and 1771. He marched with his company on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, serving twenty days. May 21st he became Lieut. Colonel of Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment in the Provincial Army, and he held that rank under the same commander through the year. In the "Cleveland Genealogy" it is stated that he "was present at the time of Governor William Tryon's assault upon Horseneck and saw General Israel Putnam plunge down the steep bluff, the bullets of the baffled dragoons whizzing around him." He died in Canterbury, Connecticut, April 4, 1785, aged 57 years.

MAJOR JONATHAN AUSTIN of Boston, was engaged April 20, 1775, to serve in that rank in Colonel Sargent's Regiment. He served at least until July, 1775, and probably through the year. January 1, 1776, he became Major of the 16th Regiment in the Continental Army, under Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent, and served until November 13, 1776, when he was dishonorably discharged. He died in 1778.

MAJOR JOSEPH KELLY. The name of this officer appears in a list of field officers of various regiments in which he is credited as holding this rank in Colonel Sargent's Regiment. No year is given but it is probably 1775, and the regiment is given "as of the Province of New Hampshire." He may have been the man of this name who served as Sergeant in Captain Daniel Johnson's Third Haverhill Company in Lieutenant Colonel John Osgood's Regiment in March, 1757. No further record of his service in the Revolution has been found.

ADJUTANT PETER DOLLIVER of Cape Ann (also given Boston) entered the service as Adjutant of this regiment, June 20, 1775, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Adjutant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. February 1, 1777, he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Henry Jackson's Additional Continental Regiment and served until his resignation, March 1, 1779. He received an honorable discharge from General Gates. He was an inspector in the

Boston Custom House for many years, and until he died, June 23, 1816, aged sixty-three years. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

ADJUTANT STEPHEN PEABODY of Amherst, N. H., was the son of William and Rebecca (Smith) Peabody. He was born in Souhegan West (Milford, N. H.) September 3, 1742. A return, showing the number of men belonging to the several companies of Colonel Sargent's Regiment was made by him as Adjutant and the document was dated Cambridge, April 24, 1775. His service in this regiment must have been of very brief duration, for Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" credits him with service as Adjutant in Colonel James Reed's Third New Hampshire Regiment, from April 23, 1775, through the year. The Revolutionary Rolls of New Hampshire credit him with the same service. In June, 1776, he was appointed Major in Colonel Isaac Wyman's New Hampshire Regiment, organized to reinforce the Continental Army, and he served through the year. He was recommended by officers in Colonel Wyman's Regiment as Field Officer in the Third Battalion of New Hampshire, November 20, 1776. On the Ticonderoga alarm of June, 1777, he marched from Amherst, New Hampshire as Captain of a Company in Colonel Nichols's Militia Regiment. From July 18th to September 24, 1777 he was a Major on the Staff of General John Stark. January 1, 1778, he was Lieutenant Colonel, commanding a regiment from New Hampshire, in the Rhode Island service. His regiment was discharged December 30, 1778. Heitman states that he died in 1779, but the records of New Hampshire show that Colonel Stephen Peabody was selectman in Amherst, New Hampshire in 1779 and Muster Master of the State of New Hampshire in 1780-1.

QUARTERMASTER OSGOOD CARLETON of Lanesboro (also given Newbury) was engaged to serve in that rank in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment April 20, 1775. He acted as Regimental Quartermaster during the year, holding rank as Sergeant in the company of Captain John Wood, also of this Regiment. During 1776 he was Quartermaster in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became First Lieutenant in Captain Joshua Brown's Company, Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. December 1, 1778, he was transferred to the Corps of Invalids, holding the rank of First Lieutenant in that organization. September 7, 1782 he became Regimental Quartermaster and served to June, 1783. He died in June, 1816.

SURGEON PARKER CLEAVELAND of Ipswich, entered this regiment in that capacity, May 22, 1775. He was the son of the Reverend John and Mary (Dodge) Cleaveland, and was born in Ipswich, October 12, 1751. He served through the year and was paid eight pounds, six shillings for service as Surgeon in this regiment to August 1, 1775.

SURGEON'S MATE JOSIAH HOLT, the son of Paul and Mehitabel (Chandler) Holt, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, May 28, 1754. He entered service of this regiment June 5, 1775, and his name appears on the list of Surgeons and Surgeon's Mates examined and approved by a committee for that purpose, dated July 7, 1775. In the "Holt Family" it is stated that "he was a Surgeon in the Revolutionary War: during which time a British vessel laden with drugs was cast away near New York, and the cargo confiscated. He purchased the cargo, and medicine being very scarce and high, the speculation made him rich.

CHAPLAIN EBENEZER SWEETLAND (SWETLAND) was engaged as Chaplain in this Regiment, June 12, 1775, and served at least to August 1st, and probably through the year.

CAPTAIN ISAAC BALDWIN of Hillsboro, N. H., commanded a company containing fifteen privates in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment which responded to the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775. He entered Colonel John Stark's Regiment as Captain, April 23, 1775, according to the New Hampshire Rolls, and in command of twelve men took an active part in the engagement of Noddle's Island, May 27, 1775. He was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BYRON commanded a company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Lexington Alarm Regiment, according to a list found in the Massachusetts Archives and quoted in the early part of the historical section of this article. No further record of his service has been found.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN BURTON of Wilton, N. H., was born in Middleton, Mass., September 18, 1741, according to the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, Volume 1, Page 67, although the record of his birth does not appear in the Middleton Vital Records. April 2, 1759 at the age of eighteen he enlisted in Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment. In this record the statement was made that he was the son of John Burton and that he resided in Danvers. He may have been the man of the same name who was a private later in 1759 in Captain Andrew Gidding's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, who served from January 1, 1760,

To be Continued.

Criticism & Comment

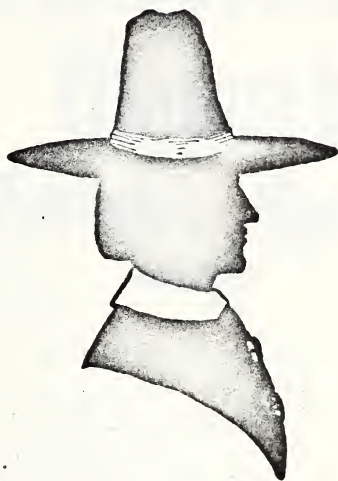
on Books and Other Subjects

A guide to Newport, R. I., on sale at the news stands, contains the following rather surprising reference to Massachusetts:

The colonists of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation consistently maintained the principles of freedom, for the establishment and enjoyment of which they had set up their new government. The charter which they obtained from the Crown was the freest colonial charter that had ever been given in its guarantee of civil and religious liberty; and the first act of the General Assembly under it, in 1647, embodied the declaration that all men might walk as their consciences persuaded them. Just what such a declaration then meant is difficult for us in this liberal day to realize; but how courageously and consistently the men of Newport maintained a catholicity and tolerance which were far in advance of the spirit of the time, colonial and personal chronicles amply attest. The new sect of the Baptists found a welcome in Rhode Island, and Reverend John Clark in 1644 organized the Baptist Church of Newport. But shortly thereafter, when Clark, Obadiah Holmes and another ventured to visit a sick brother in the church at Lynn, the Massachusetts authorities promptly jailed and fined them for their heterodox doctrines and Obadiah, stoutly refusing, for conscience sake, either to pay his fine or to recant his denial of infant baptism, was given thirty lashes on the bare back and sent home to Newport to relate an experience which we may be sure strengthened the resolution of those here to make more secure the freedom of the individual.

A few years later, when Quakerism appeared in New England, and Boston endeavored to stamp it out by persecution, Endicott sending the Quakers to the whipping post, boring their tongues with hot irons, cutting off their ears, hanging them, and selling their children into slavery. Rhode Island, on the contrary, gave them a sure refuge and welcomed them to full liberty of profession and practice.

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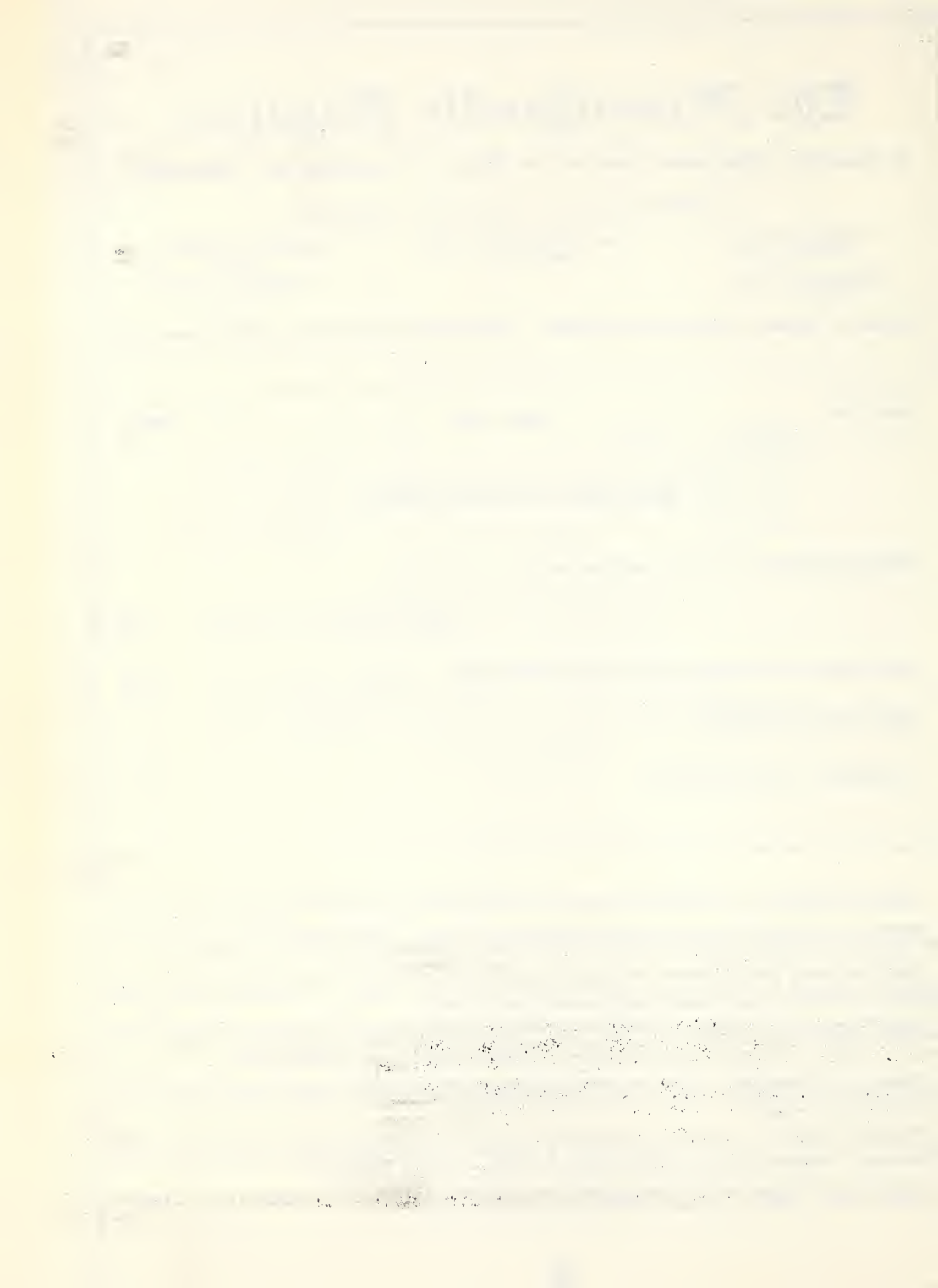
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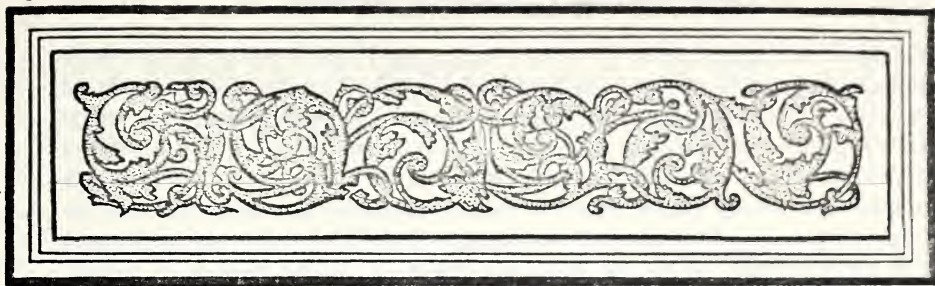
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REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

BY JUDGE FRANCIS M. THOMPSON OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

INCLUDING HIS NARRATIVE OF THREE YEARS IN THE NEW WEST, DURING WHICH HE TOOK IN 1862 A 3000-MILE TRIP FROM ST. LOUIS UP THE MISSOURI, AND THENCE DOWN THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS TO PORTLAND, AND TO SAN FRANCISCO, RETURNING IN 1863.

(Continued from Vol. VI, No. 2)

CHAPTER IV

RIVER, OCEAN AND WILDERNESS.

Sunday, October 18th, 1862, our party spent in comp together, for the last time. Being assured by the men at the ferry that there was no danger in descending the Snake river, excepting at the Pine Tree rapids, Mr. Mead and I exchanged our horses for a well built lap-streak Hudson Bay batteau, which would carry about six tons and seemed tight and seaworthy. We had seen in a Portland paper accounts of boats being wrecked in the river, and the drowning of several returning miners, but when Rev. Mr. Francis decided to join our party, we felt sure that we would escape all danger. He was a most practical man and had crossed the ocean some fourteen times, and had for many years been a dweller on the New Foundland coast. He declined to take command of our ship and I was elected captain, Watkins was engineer and was to keep the ark dry, Mead was cook, Reverend Francis, chaplain; and all hands oarsmen.

We stocked the ship with provisions sufficient to take us to old Fort Walla Walla (now Wallula) where we hoped to find less extravagant prices. The next day we bade farewell to the Clow-Jones party, who continued their overland journey toward Fort Walla Walla, and we were soon swiftly floating down the treacherous Snake river, which seems to run in a great crack in the earth's surface, and there is scarcely a bush or green thing to be seen for miles and miles. We passed down several pretty rough waters during the day, and often wondered how much worse than

these the dreaded Pine Tree rapids were. I found that the rudder, hung in the usual way, gave me no control of the boat in very swift water, and when we camped having found the ruins of a broken boat, I decked over a standing place in the stern of the ship and substituted a long sweep for the rudder. I now had an extended view of the river and perfect control of the boat and full confidence that I could safely guide the craft under any circumstances, and I have no doubt but this change saved our lives. Being in a deep canon, at night we were forced to tie our boat to a big rock and pass the hours in rather close quarters, on board. Having no way of cooking on board we kept on our way in the morning until we saw the mist rolling up from the great rapids. Landing, while breakfast was being prepared, Mr. Francis and I climbed up the walls of the canon and I made a chart of the channel, as it wound from side to side of the river. There were several ledges, some projecting from one side of the river and some from the other. There seemed a safe passage way, if we could only keep in it. The upper rapid was on our side the river and with all the men at the oars, we started in, and with our hearts in our mouths ran the torturous channel with perfect safety, the only mishap being a wetting from the spray caused by the bow of the boat splashing down upon the rough water. Our confidence in our boat and in each other was vastly improved.

Tired and weak from our excitement, after a short day's travel we made camp upon a sandy beach, where we hoped to bake some potatoes in the hot sand. A strong wind sucked up through the canon, and Watkins, our clown, remarked as the sand sifted in all our food, "We have sand-wiches enough to make us all crazy." Our wit responded,

"The world which knows itself too sad,
Is proud to keep some faces glad."

The next day brought its full measure of dangerous rapids, but by use of the long sweep and the quick response of the man at the oars, we passed them all in safety, and about three o'clock came to the junction of the Snake and the Columbia. Mead dipped water from the great river and in grandiloquent speech, dubbed the ship "The Novice," and captain, chaplain, and crew joined in three hearty cheers. Before dark we reached Wallula and took up our lodgings in an old boat drawn up on the shore. The wind blew a gale up the canon, and we spent the hours of waiting in gaining information about the river. It is one hundred and ten miles to Deschutes, the first large rapids, but just above the mouths of all large rivers entering the Columbia, there are dangerous rapids. Stocking up our craft for a week's travel, and taking on a passenger, we renewed our journey, in a stiff head wind. Camping on a sandy beach, the wind nearly

covered us with drifting sand during the night. When, during the next day, we neared the head of the Umatilla rapids, we hauled to the short and I climbed to the bluff and made a chart of the river. There were five reefs stretching across the river within a few miles, with the deep water winding from side to side above each. I put Mead in the bow of the boat to look out for sunken rocks, and we started into the path from which there was no turning. At times, the boys had to pull for their lives to escape some big rock, but we came through safe and sound, though poor Mead was drenched from head to foot. The shooting of these rapids is as exciting as a ball game or horse race. Every nerve and muscle is at extreme tension, and the spice of real danger adds interest to the occasion. After passing Grande Ronde landing we made camp on a beautiful grassy slope and slept well after our exciting day. With the morning's sun a most magnificent scene broke upon our view. Mount Hood with its eternal cap of snow loomed up in the south-west, piercing the clouds. Along the river were many Indian camps, and the natives were out in their canoes busily engaged in picking up the dead salmon which float in the stream by hundreds. Unless too rotten, they dry them for food.

Sailing against strong head winds, we made slow progress but near night came to a point where we could hear the roar of rapids which we knew extended for fifteen miles. Near by, the crew of another boat were camped, but having no provisions they were up and off at daylight. After climbing the bluff and sketching the river as far as I could, we entered into the Rock Creek rapids and flying through them passed Squally Hook, then the Indian rapids, and at last the great John Day rapids.

Between the John Day's and the Deschutes rivers we had a strong head wind, and were compelled to cordelle the boat for some miles, and near sunset reached Klik-i-tat landing, when our passenger said that he knew the river well from there to Deschutes. I told him to come up and take the helm, and I took his place at an oar. As we approached the rapids, the river being in a deep canyon and taking a sudden turn, the stranger turned white as a sheet and called out to me to "come up." Mr. Francis shouted "get up there. Thompson." I saw in an instant that we were close upon the falls and on the wrong side of the river; that the reef ran quartering across the river, in which great breaks existed, through which the water poured in mighty sluiceways. I told the men they must pull for their lives, this time, and headed the boat toward a raging torrent which ran close beside an immense rock. I could not see what was below the reef, but it was our only chance, and as we shot over the crest the boat just grazed upon the standing rock and down we went in a fall of at least ten feet, the "Novice" riding the falls and the big waves below like a thing of life. When he could stand, Mr. Francis arose and spread-

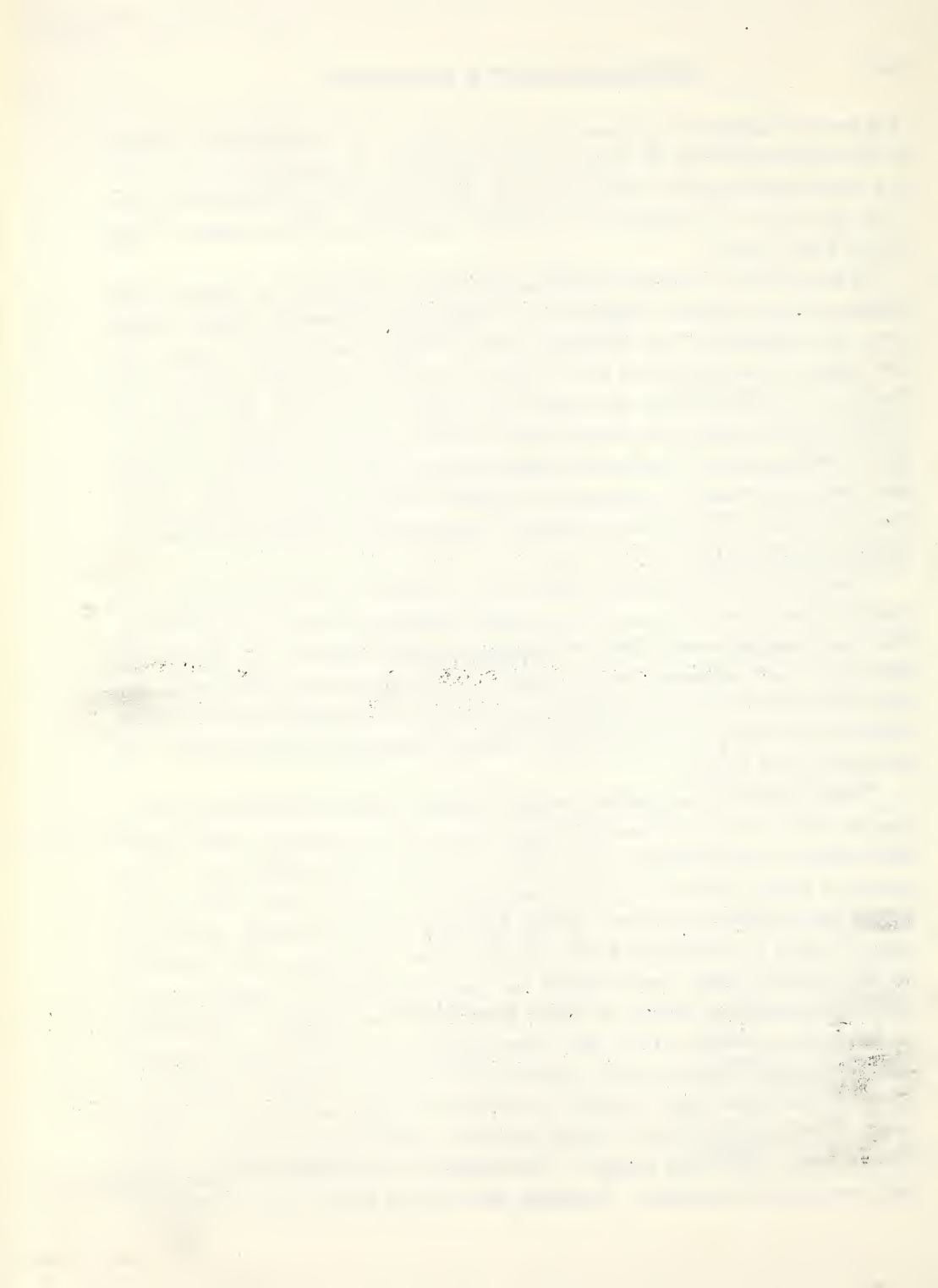


ing out his hands as in a blessing, reverently said, "Thank God!" It was a close shave and we all joined in the "Amen!" It was pitch dark when we made our camp on a little island in the mouth of the Deschutes river. The next day we continued our journey to Celilo, a little village at the head of the Dalles.

We could not pay the exorbitant fare for conveyance by stage to the Dalles, so we sent our baggage by a wagon and footed the fifteen miles over the foothills. We abandoned the "Novice" with great regret, but the stage of the water was such that she could not be taken through the Dalles, so we left her in the hands of an agent to be sold. Reaching the Dalles before sunset we made camp near the steamer landing, beside a pile of railroad ties. During the night thieving Indians crawled up toward our camp and when I whispered to Watkins, loud enough so that I knew they could hear, "Hand me my pistol," the miscreants gathered themselves up and ran like deer.

The fare to Portland the next day we found to be \$5, while the opposition boat due the second day carried passengers for \$2, so considering that our lodgings were free, we camped another night. We think that this place will sometime in the future be an important point, when the time shall come that the immense water power is developed, and the trade of the rich mining and agricultural valleys established as they surely will be in the near future.

Taking the little opposition steamer Dalles, at five o'clock in the morning we made our way down the mighty river, which runs in a deep canon with almost perpendicular wall rocks. Now and then there are a few acres of bottom land lying in some bend of the river, on which some settler has built a log house. Being hemmed in by the rocky walls they seem to have no outlet but by the river. A few miles above the Cascades, in the lake-like river, are standing the petrified trunks of immense trees, sometimes reaching thirty or forty feet above the waters. Many seem to have been broken off by the water, perhaps by some flood occurring centuries ago. These seem to add credence to the Indian legend that formerly the river ran beneath the Cascade range, and that the mountains, Hood and St. Helens fought each other with fire, the effect of which was to break down the bridge. The scenery of the Sierra Nevada gorge and mountains is sublime. Reaching the landing at the head of the Cas-



ades, we walked the four miles to the foot of the rapids, rather than pay a dollar for a ride upon the apology for a railroad. We thus had a magnificent view of the angry river as it reached the brackish waters of the sea. How a reckless steamer captain, anxious to escape service of papers by an officer of the law, ever brought his boat down those fearful rapids, remains an unsolved mystery, but such is the fact.

“And the river leaps and whirls and swings,
To the changeless song the great cliff sings.”

van Beuren.

At the landing, we found an ancient scow upon whose deck an upright boiler had been placed, and on it were crowded about forty horses and four loaded wagons, and sandwiched in, were some fifty passengers. Some of these climbed upon the roof of what the captain called the cabin, but were ordered down, as the captain said the boat was “topheavy anyway.” As she rolled to one side and the other, when she got under way, one man offered the captain five dollars if he would put him and his horse on shore. We declined the venture, and waited better accommodations.

October 31st, 1862, we reached Portland, having come from the Cascades in the “Leviathan” a staunch little steamer fifty-two feet in length. Our minds can hardly conceive more magnificent scenery than that of the Columbia below the Cascades. Nine miles below the rapids on the Washington side of the river, stands Castle Rock, covering four or five acres, with perpendicular walls eight hundred feet in height. We pass the celebrated Multnomah falls, and the beautiful Bridal Veil, which is the most bewitching of all. A small rivulet in its course reaches the top of the cliff on the Oregon side of the Columbia, and leaps a distance of four hundred and fifty feet, almost into the river at the foot of the great precipice. Tall trees standing at the base of the falls seem like small bushes, so high is the white sheet of water above their tops. Cape Horn, on the opposite side of the river is a bold promintory of great height and majesty. On our arrival at Portland late in the evening we once more succumbed to the influences of civilization, and put up at the What Cheer house.

On the first of November we took an account of stock and after selling all our saddles, blankets, and other impedimenta, and getting about six ounces of gold assayed at the United States mint, which produced

nineteen dollars and a half per ounce, we found that we could no longer provide for our companions, Mr. Francis and the faithful little Stewart; but good luck attended both us and them, for we were able to obtain from good Governor Gibbs, for Mr. Francis the office of chaplain, and for Stewart the appointment as guard, in the Oregon State Penitentiary. Having put our friends in a safe place for the winter, we paid forty-five dollars each for steamer tickets to San Francisco. Our steamer—the old Pacific—was largely loaded with apples—and such big ones—some specimens would nearly fill a man's hat, but they lack the New England flavor. Running upon a sand bar in the Willamette, we remained fast until high tide in the morning. A strong west wind had worked up a wicked sea, and when outside, out of two hundred passengers only eighteen thought they needed any supper. I was a business man the most of the afternoon. Thousands of white pelicans were to be seen at the mouth of the Columbia. The next morning found the steamer in the beautiful straits of Juan de Fuca, with a calm sea and restful scenery. The shores are heavily timbered and there are many beautiful islands in a sea varying from five or six to ten or fifteen miles in width. Far away to the east Mount Baker lifts its helmet of snow which glistens in the sunlight. Threading the channel among the beautiful islands in Puget sound, we reached Victoria, B. C., about noon, and had plenty of time to visit the town and the great British naval station called the Esquimalt. For three days we were at sea, no land in sight. A single ship appears on the western horizon. A large whale spouts near the ship. A few porpoises tumble and play at a little distance. The ship rolls heavily, and I don't like it.

Nov. 8, 1862. We approach the Golden Gate, which seems to be a mile or more in width and is flanked on either side by high headlands. There is an extensive fortress at Fort Point, but we have learned that its walls would be little protection from the new iron-clads. The soldiers' barracks upon the hill-side look very neat and cozy. The grim guns threaten us as we pass Alcatraz Island, but we make our way to the wharf and are safely quartered in another "What Cheer House" before night.

During my stay of three months in San Francisco, I had the company of an old St. Louis friend, C. E. Wheeler, and also an acquaintance with P. C. Dart, a 'Frisco merchant, and Captain Henry W. Kellogg of the

United States Army, a native of Shelburne, Mass. I was thus enabled to pass the rainy season with enjoyment after I had established communication with St. Louis and the East. I was a constant attendant with the congregation of T. Starr King, a man of great talent, and heard with great pleasure his sermon preached Feb. 1, 1863, from the text "The Lord reigneth! let the earth rejoice," having relation to to President Lincoln's proclamation of freedom. Having completed arrangements with my brother in St. Louis to send me a general stock of merchandise to Fort Benton by steamer in the spring, my friend Wheeler and I left Feb. 8, by steamer for Portland, where we arrived in due time after a very stormy passage. Here I found Messers. Clow, Jones, Curley, Stewart and others who had been companions the year before on the voyage up the Missouri. Rev. Mr. Francis was in Oregon city, and supplying also in Salem. One day early in March while I was awaiting information from St. Louis, Dr. Hicklin and I went out on the mountain to visit a friend of his. Arriving at a little log hut, we found his friend with his wife and nine children, the oldest being twelve years old. Where we were all to sleep I could not imagine, but come night, the doctor and I were given the trundle bed in which we curled up, spoon fashion. Here I learned a new method of making a clearing in a heavy forest. The settler bores a hole on a level into the center of a great pine tree, and then beginning two or three feet above, bores another on an angle downward to meet the first one, at the tree center. Into these holes he pokes a few coals of fire, where it smoulders until the tree burns off and falls to the ground. Then he bores similar holes in the prostrate body of the tree in lengths suitable for handling with a team and when the tree is burned into logs, piles them up and burns them. The waste of fine timber is wicked. On my return to the city, I shot a large American eagle which I presented to my friend A. J. Butler, who had it mounted. Mr. Francis having friends upon the steamer Sierra Nevada, which was aground in the river below the city, we visited a Mrs. Very and her daughter, who were on their way to Port Townshend, and helped them while away the weary hours of their delay, much to our pleasure. On the 19th of March I bade goodbye to Mr. Francis and little Stewart, having decided to return to Beaver Head, while Mr. Francis, goes to San Francisco and from thence to New York. He is a fine old Welshman, and knows more of human nature than most men of

his profession. The next day Wheeler and I left Portland on the steamer Wilson G. Hunt for the Cascades. We landed at the lower landing on the Oregon side and walked the five miles to the head of the Cascades, thus cheating the horse railroad out of two dollars. A steam railroad was being built upon the opposite side of the river, running near an old block-house. Taking passage on the Idaho we passed the petrified trees, the grave yard island where bleach the corded up bones of hundreds of Indian small pox victims, and now and then saw a hewn log house built on the bottom lands, with projecting upper story for defensive purposes, against possible Indian enemies. The Dalles was a busy little town, large parties of miners and freighters fitting out for the newly discovered mines on John Day's river and the Blue mountains. The Portage railroad through the Dalles gorge to Celilo had just been built, and by the polite invitation of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company I had the pleasure of a trip over the romantic way. The road runs near the river and about five miles above the village, in its construction through the sand heaps, numerous Indian skeletons were unearthed and skulls and other bones lay exposed upon the embankment. The river at this point seems to have been turned up edge-wise, and the waters of a large territory pour through a seemingly small crack in the rocks, but of unknown depth. To stand upon the elevated rocks above the tumultuous waters across which one feels himself able to toss a stone, produces a most unusual sensation, long to be remembered. This is the great fishing place of the natives, and all along in the sand can be seen the *caches* in which the dried salmon have been stored. The excavation is made in the shape of a jug, sometimes ten or twelve feet in depth and from four to six feet in diameter, the entrance at the top being just large enough for a person to get in to pack the fish. The sides are carefully lined with tules, and in these the fish are safely kept for many months. I left Dalles on my long journey the third of April, going to Celilo by stage, where I took the opposition boat Kiyus for Wallula. On our way up the Columbia we had several races with the regular boat, Spray, in which we were elated to be able to come in ahead. We were obliged to tie up over night at the Umatilla rapids, over which we were compelled to wind up by a tow line. We came to Wallula an hour and a half before the Spray.

The government abandoned old Fort Walla Walla some years since,



and built anew in a beautiful valley, some thirty miles up the Walla Walla river, and a mile or more away from the army buildings there was located quite a nice little village. Here I was joined by Mr. Wheeler who decided to accompany me to the Beaver Head mines. Mr. Terry, an old mountain man, advises us to go to the Bitter Root valley, by the Pend-Orille trail.

The 10th of April we took the stage at 3 o'clock in the morning and after an eighty-three mile ride, arrived at Lewiston situated at the junction of the Clearwater and the Snake rivers. Our very pleasant travelling companions were Major Francis, Captain Truax and Lt. Hammer of the army, and Mr. Woodward agent of Wells Fargo & Co. The steamer Kiyus passed above Lewiston on the Snake river the same day. The next day Mr. Haggard with express matter from Fort Benton came in, bringing news from my companions at Beaver Head. Having purchased a good sized American horse for riding, and a pack animal, and Mr. Wheeler having bought a riding pony, on the 10th of April we crossed the Clearwater on a ferry-boat and climbed the high hill lying northward of the town. We were followed by about a dozen of as rough looking specimens of the human species as ever I saw, who announce their intention of keeping us company to the Beaver Head mines.

If the old saying that "a bad beginning makes a good ending" proves to be true, then we will be happy indeed; for as we made our way up the mountain side from the ferry, we met a half dozen green pack horses, running and kicking and bucking off their packs, and our horses joined in with the rest and away the crazy brutes went down the mountain, scattering the contents of the campaign basket which we called our "kitchen" along the hill side; and butter, beans and bacon, cheese, candles and coffee, onions, potatoes, pepper and sardines strewn the way for a mile, while the flapping frying pan and coffee pot, added frenzy to the demoralized Kiyus. It was a discouraging start, but we gathered up the fragments and capturing our four footed helper we repacked the remnants, and led the beast for a rest of the day. We carry no tent but sleep under the roof of heaven and pay no rent. The first day we made but six miles, and it rained and snowed during the night, but we travelled twenty-five miles the second day, during which I was compelled to lead our pack animal. A party of three overtook us before making camp, and one of them

whom I took to be a woman, though dressed in men's clothing including boots and hat, announced that she was a "Scotch man, and wasn't married to no man!" She rode astride her horse as all women should. As we pull out of camp and ride off down the trail in Indian file, with our fifteen or twenty pack horses we make quite a formidable looking party. For two days it rained and snowed and we remained in camp, and made ourselves as comfortable by big fires as circumstances would permit. We have had an Indian guide, but being disgruntled at something, he undertook to run away, but I took after him and by giving him "chickamin" (money) persuaded him to stay with us.

As we came to the Palouse river I killed three grouse which furnished us fine food. Another party who camped near us got but one grouse, but had killed a large owl. Dressing it they put it into the camp kettle with the grouse, but after cooking it for a long time it still remained so tough that they could not eat it. Building a raft we attached our lariats to it and hauled it over and back to bring across all the packs and people. The horses were made to swim the river. One of our followers lost his pack horse this morning. Our guide has disappeared, and the rabble all depend upon following my lead. Steptoe's Butte is my objective point, a well known land mark, as near by Steptoe was defeated by the Indians a few years since. One day we travelled through deep snow on the northerly side of a mountain, and our delightful travelling companions cursed loud and deep concerning my leadership. It was at times hard to keep control of my speech, but I realized the danger of a wrangle with such a crew. After a hard ride of twenty-five miles we came out on Camas Prairie creek, where we found good camping grounds. Some of the men ascending a small hill, discovered that just beyond there was a large Indian camp.

I immediately told our people to make into heaps all articles in the camp and cover them with bankets, and advised them to have a man sit on each pile. Soon came up a hundred Indians, their sharp eyes looking for any article which they could lay their hands upon. They were anxious to exchange potatoes and dried salmon for sugar, coffee, or any thing else which they fancied. Some of the young bucks were very pert and quite saucy. While I was palavering with an old Indian, a young fellow came near, and as quick as a cat snatched from my belt a small self cocking

French revolver; I looked at him and smiled, and as he put it up before his face to examine it, he unwittingly caused it to explode, and the bullet passed through the brim of an old soft hat he was wearing. A more astonished looking fellow I never saw, and after a moment he meekly handed back the little pistol and departed much subdued in manner.

In this party was an old man remarkable in appearance by reason of wearing quite a full beard. He came up in front of me and saluting "How! How!" pointed to his breast and said, "Me, Clark; me, Clark;" What the celebrated early explorer would have said about the claimant of his name, I know not, but it is an old saying that "It is a wise son who knows his own father." But not all Indians are truthful. Again we were compelled to build a raft to cross this narrow but very deep and rapid creek.

One morning after it had rained all night and everybody was out of sorts, I struck off down a creek and the hangers on began to grumble. I told them to go where they pleased, but they followed on. After a while we found that the trail led across the creek, when the rabble broke out again. I "answered them not" but struck off toward Steptoe's mountain, abandoning the trail, and after four pathless miles struck a broad trail which I followed until our horses could go no farther, and we made a dry camp in a thick forest. Soon the big camp fires lighted up the great pine trees most beautifully, and we feasted on broiled grouse but with nothing to drink. After a most tiresome day we reached the top of a high hill from which we could see a large valley, which I knew to be the Spokane prairie, so we hurried on down the mountain, coming on a wide gravel plain, the river seeming to be about five miles away. Continuing on our way hoping to reach water, the day waned with the river apparently as distant as hours before, and we felt compelled to make another dry camp, which is a most discouraging thing to do. We were in a scattered forest of pine, and while I was busy getting supper, Wheeler, remembering that he had passed some snow at the foot of the hill, started to find some for tea. With not the slightest idea of locality, he was soon lost. I fired guns hoping to direct him to camp, but when I discovered him after two hours search, he was going directly away from camp, completely bewildered. An Indian came to our camp in the morning and guided us to the ferry owned by Antoine Plante, and crossing the Spokane

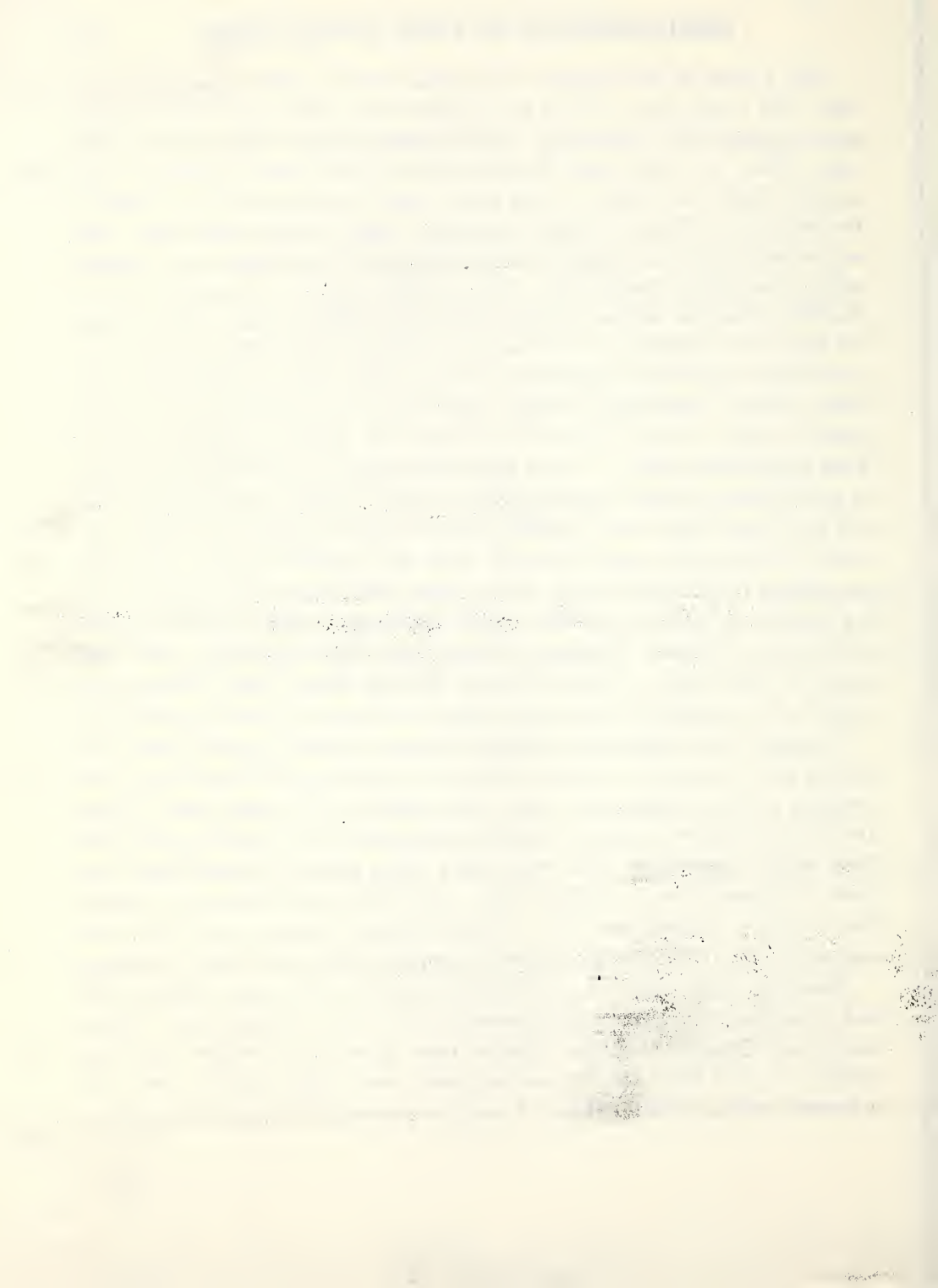
we made our camp a mile above, hoping here to escape our quandon friends.

We purchased fine vegetables from an Indian who told us that the Hudson Bay brigade passed up the valley the day before, on their way to the Flathead country. I immediately conceived the idea of overtaking this party and travelling with them. Mr. Wheeler and I had taken a fancy to a man among our followers by the name of Cook, and invited him to join us in the capacity of cook. He was glad to come with us and I bought a pony of our Indian friend for his use. Very early the next morning we three stole from camp and pushed on to overtake the Hudson Bay people, which we accomplished, and found Captain McLaren very cordial in his invitation to join his party. They had some sixty pack horses and about ten or twelve Indian and half breed servants. The commander told us to turn our stock in with the others and his men would care for them. On our way we met Major Owen, and Mr. McDonald, agent for the Hudson Bay Company, at Colville, on their way to Portland. Our brigade was bound for St. Ignatius Mission, and at night we met and camped with a brigade loaded with furs bound from Colville to Portland, where they would purchase and bring back a season's supply. We here left the Spokane and struck across to the Pend Orielle lake, making a march of twenty-five miles. On the south side of the lake outlet, we found an old chief and a few followers, who had a boat made of the bark of an immense pine tree, the bracing out of the middle of the boat cocking up the two ends above the water line. No one was permitted to enter this frail craft without first removing his shoes, for fear of puncturing the bark. The old Pend-Orielle chief took a great fancy to my big horse, and as we bargained for the transportation across the lake, of our party, he importuned me to sell him my coal black "Colonel." He offered three good ponies, but I made him understand that I only needed the one horse and would not sell him. As a final inducement he led out from his wikiup a young girl some sixteen or seventeen years of age, of comely and modest appearance, and offered her to me in exchange for my horse. He seemed struck with amazement when I would not exchange my horse, even for a princess. Captain McLaren informed me that the probabilities were against my having the Colonel in the morning, unless I held his lariat all night.

The horses of the brigade were driven into the lake twenty-five at a time, and before they reached the opposite shore the noise of the puffing and blowing of the swimming horses, reminded me of the noise of a big mill. When our turn came, the old chief sat in the stern of the boat and carefully held the Colonel's head above water as he swam by the side of the bark canoe. Once in camp and supper eaten. I stole away alone with my valuable horse and made a secret camp, that the Colonel and I might still be travelling companions. We travelled up the northeastern side of the lake, where in ordinary stages of the water there is a fine beach, but all the rivers now putting into the lake are running banks full, and the water is so high that we are compelled to take to the woods. Scrambling over fallen timber, scratching through thick brush and climbing over rocky points jutting out into the lake, we find most wearisome and trying to both nerves and temper. It was most interesting to watch our long string of pack horses, as they filed through the woods. They were led by a wise old bell mare who would carefully climb along the side of a large tree, when it had fallen across the trail, until she reached the end, and then go around it and follow back to the trail, while some green horse, seeing another a little way ahead, would undertake to leap over the trunk and come to disaster, frequently rolling over down the hill. After ten miles of such travel we again took to the lake shore, often finding deep water as we wallowed around the ends of tall trees fallen into the lake.

Coming to an impetuous mountain stream running into the lake, and fearing that the packs would get soaked if remaining upon the horses, we stripped off our clothes and, each rider taking a pack before him, forded the icy river and returning for another continued until a hundred packs had been safely transferred. We met with a large party of Pend-Orielle Indians returning from a buffalo hunt, and took some lessons in "simple life," as they camped near us. All the streams running down from the mountains are at flood stage and we are greatly hindered at their crossing.

Reaching Pack river, we were lucky enough to find three Indians who had a boat and for some trifling presents they took our packs over. Made camp and Captain McLaren opened some goods and traded with the Indians. For a little tobacco we obtained some large salmon trout and a beaver's tail, of which delicacy I could not persuade Wheeler to partake.



We had hardly proceeded a mile, in the morning, before we came to a river too deep to be forded, and a messenger was dispatched for the Indians to come with their boat, and again they helped us in a crossing. Cedar river proved so deep and the current so swift, that both horses and men were nearly exhausted when we made camp high up on the mountain side, where we not only found good feed for the horses, but a magnificent view of the lake and river. Soon after starting in the morning a half blind horse was made wholly so, and had to be abandoned. The green horse substituted ran away with his pack, and the French half breed who brought him in, rode up to Captain McLaren and said, "How much 'e price dat hoss? I buy him and kill dam fool." The trail along the river is overflowed, and we are compelled to take to the brush and timber along the mountain side, and both men and horses suffer terribly. We are following up the Pend-Orielle river and coming to the Bull's head river, found it running a torrent. We found a narrow place and felled a tree which luckily reached across and caught on some floodwood upon the opposite shore. The middle of the tree was a foot under water, but some limbs helped us to preserve our balance and the men carried over the whole camp outfit. We then undertook to compel the horses to swim the raging flood, an Indian leading the way with my big horse, but he was the only one which made the passage; some of the others landing on the shore they started from, and some washing down to the big river and reaching an island, from which Indians were sent to drive them to the home camp. I crossed over the tree to get to my horse and finding that we were on an island I attempted to cross a slough on the Colonel's back, but the water proved so deep that we both had to swim. It was raining hard and very cold, and after much trouble I succeeded in starting a fire, and my horse and I stood close by and shivered. I gave the horse a half loaf of wet bread as there was no feed, and we both had a miserable night. In the morning we recrossed the river and driving the horses a mile above camp found a place where we thought they might ford. Stationing men with long poles on the rocks, an Indian mounted a pony and rode in, the men rushing the other horses after him. He succeeded in getting across and as the others came stumbling within reach of the poles they were frightened over toward the other shore, and at last all gained the solid

land. We only marched seven miles and camped in a little prairie, close by an Indian grave. The next day we made a long march, and some of the horses being weak and underfed, fell out and an Indian was left to bring in the stragglers. We camped beside Vermillion river and I found a good prospect of gold in the gravel.

On Thompson's prairie, where a few years before the Hudson Bay Company had a fort, we laid for two days, that men and beasts might recruit, and that washing, mending and baking might be done. I caught a great quantity of large salmon trout, which when broiled on the coals, was a most agreeable change in our diet. Here we toted our packs across on a log which we were so fortunate as to fall across the river. Driving in the horses, some were nearly drowned as they passed under the tree which we had used as a bridge, but we saved them all. Crossing a very steep point some eight hundred feet in height, composed of sharp loose stone, called Cabinet mountain, was a very severe trial for the stock, but the trials of the day were forgotten when we made camp in beautiful Horse prairie. It was the 8th of May but water froze in our camp. Here we abandoned the river, and after clambering over a trail strewn with sharp rocks for ten miles reached a camas prairie which extended to the Flathead river, just below the Flathead lake. Six Flathead Indians from a camp near by, are our guests for the night. The tribe are digging camas, crowse, or bitter root. Camas is a root in appearance like a small onion. It is sweet and glutinous and quite palatable, and may be eaten raw or cooked. The squaws prepare it by digging a hole in the ground in which they build a fire and heat the surrounding earth, after which they sweep it out and putting in the camas they place over the roots the inverted turf and covering the whole with heated flat stones on which they keep a fire until the camas is cooked. In this condition it may be eaten, or when pounded up, it may be baked into bread; or if desired it will dry and keep for a long time. Crowse is similar to the camas and is plentiful in countries west of the Rocky Mountains. These esculent roots are flour and potatoes to the Indians. The Flatheads took us across their great river in a pine bark canoe, and although Mission Indians, we have to keep a sharp lookout for little things about camp, and notwithstanding all our care, we missed

a handy little knife which we had used about camp. The river is so wide and deep that Mr. McLaren did not think it safe to have some of the weaker horses swim it, and a few of those driven in came near drowning. We followed up the Flathead about twelve miles to the Jocko, where we bade farewell to Captain McLaren and his men who have been very kind to us. Following up the Jocko and crossing a divide we came to St. Ignatius Mission. Here we found extensive buildings, a church, saw and grist mills, and many other evidences of civilization, and the mission Fathers very hospitable. They invited us to supper and furnished us with provisions for the continuance of our journey. There were about eight hundred Pend-Orielle and Flathead Indians here, and we much enjoyed witnessing their horse-racing. It is very pretty here and everything shows the careful work of the faithful priests. Two Indian boys came into camp bringing with them a horse in exchange for one of ours which was unfit for duty, which was very kind and thoughtful of Mr. McLaren. We sent the boys away happy. Later we went on about ten miles to the government agency for the Flatheads. Here we met one of the fathers, who warned us against war parties of Snake and Bannack Indians who infested the country, and would rob us, if they thought that they would not suffer in the attack. We three kept on alone and crossing some mountains came out upon the Bitter Root river, which we had traveled the fall before, and going up that stream came to Worden & Co.'s store. Frank L. Worden came to this country in 1860, in company with C. P. Higgins and others and was in trade at Missoula for many years. He was a man of strict integrity with a high sense of honor. He represented this region in the first Legislative Council of Montana "and occupied many positions of honor and trust and was always faithful in the discharge of every public duty confided to his hands." He died Feb. 5, 1887.

Being now upon the Mullan road, travelled on my journey to the Pacific, which has been described, I shall only mention some incidents which happened to us on our journey to Fort Benton, where I go expecting to receive goods upon the arrival of steamers from St. Louis. Our party of three are a little nervous for fear of meeting hostile Indians, as we were told at Worden's that the Blackfeet stole one hundred and twenty-five

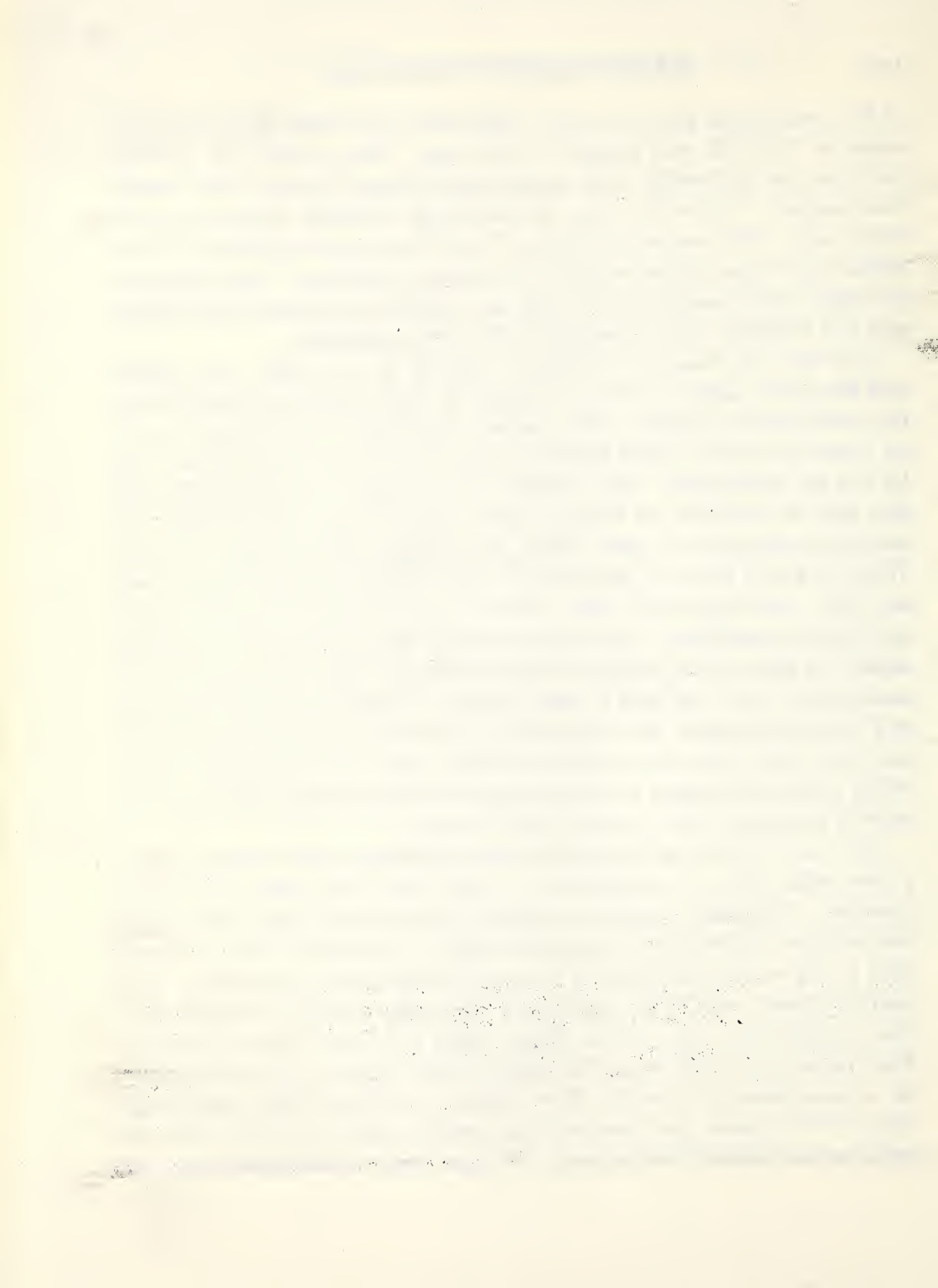
horses at Deer Lodge the week before. Being pursued, all but seven which were ridden by the thieves, were recovered. Coming to Flint creek we were much relieved to find a wagon train on their way to Fort Benton to get freight from the steamers which were expected there. We made a short visit at our old deserted home on the Deer Lodge, and rode up to Johnny Grant's to obtain supplies. Here we found a large number of teams assembled to travel in company to Fort Benton. Several disappointed men from the Bannack mines were loud in their curses of the country, and a few lucky ones who had "made their pile" were very jubilant. One poor fellow who had hoped to take his small fortune home by the steamer, had been robbed of all his treasure on his way from the mines, and was sadly debating whether to go home or return to the mines and try to retrieve his losses. Our faithful man Cook left us here to try his luck in the mines. We arranged to have our baggage taken in the wagons, and sold our extra horses, and purchased of Johnny Grant five pounds of sugar for five dollars and two of salt for another dollar. May 19, 1863, we left Deer Lodge in company with white men, white women, squaws, half breeds, and Indian herdsmen, twenty in number, and two hundred head of stock, making a motley crew indeed.

Our first camp was made just west of the summit at Mullan's pass, in a cold driving storm of snow and rain. The loose stock was badly scattered by the storm and a late start was the result. I found ten feet of snow, hard and icy, at the summit, on this my eighth time of crossing the Rocky's. Mr. Boltee, the manager of the train overtook us at Little Prickly Pear, having rode from Gold Creek, seventy-five miles in one day, on one mule. As we passed the lonely grave of young Lyon who was accidentally shot on Medicine Rock hill, we were reminded of his pleasant companionship on the trip up the Missouri. The next day Mr. Boltee and I rode ahead, forty-six miles to the government farm on Sun river. Here we found our old friends and companions Mr. and Mrs. Vail, Miss Bryan and young Swift, who seemed very glad to see me, and urged me to stop with them until the arrival of the boats, which I am very glad to do. The season has been very dry and the Sun river valley is all parched and burned up, and the stock has been driven up into the mountains. Mr. Boltee and Mr. Wheeler left the farm for Fort Benton and Mr. Crump

of St. Louis, Judge Barry, and Mr. Williamson from Walla Walla, came in ahead of the train and stopped at the farm. Many trains are crossing Sun river on the Benton road, among others Johnny Grant's with twenty two wagons. We, at the farm are mourning the death of Iron, our Indian hunter. He was the best Indian I ever knew, and was killed by Bannacks near Crown Butte while on a hunting excursion. The murderers left signs that Bannacks did the deed, and captured two horses and saddles, gun and blankets which belonged to the farm equipment.

One day we came near having a tragedy in our midst. An Indian and his squaw came to the farm seeking his other squaw who had left his bed and board in company with another young buck. He declared that if he could find her he would kill her, or else cut off her nose and ears and let her go, punishment which Indian law permitted. We truthfully told him that we had seen no strange squaw, and he kept on his search, but had not been gone an hour before the missing squaw came in alone. When told that she was pursued, she only remained to take a little food and Mrs. Vail loaded her with a blanket and provisions, and she struck out for the mountains. We had determined that no murder or maiming should be done in our midst and hoped that she would reach some Flat-head camp. Mr. Vail and I hunt enough to furnish meat for the farm and the many visitors, and sometimes get out the government ambulance and escort the women and children as they drive over the plains. Some of the train men brought me eleven long lost letters, some being dated ten months previously, but none the less welcome.

June 1st, 1863, one of the fathers from the Mission of St. Peters, located a few miles away, in attempting to ford Sun river, came near being drowned. He finally reached our side of the river and came to the fort, but his horse returned to the opposite shore. I swam my horse over and after a long search recovered his horse and brought him to the farm. The next day there came to the fort Henry Plummer, sheriff of Bannack city. He is expected to marry Miss Bryan when the Indian agent, Rev. Mr. Reed comes to the fort upon the arrival of the steamers. Just as a party of us were about to start for Fort Benton the Walla Walla expressman came in from there, and reported that nothing had been heard from the boats, so we delayed our journey. We pass away considerable time and



expend a good deal of ammunition in shooting at prairie dogs, which are pretty hard to hit and not very excellent food when secured.

Mr. and Mrs. Vail, Messrs. Plummer, Wheeler, Swift and I with the two Vail children, make up a party to visit the Great Falls of the Missouri, distant about thirty miles from the farm. Mr. Vail drives the ambulance and the other men are mounted. We leave the fort in the care of one man with directions not to admit any Indians within the gates. We reached the Horseshoe falls before dark and built our campfires in a deep-ravine so as not to attract the sharp eyes of any roving Indians, as many of them are very saucy and "clean out" small parties when they run but little risk of getting hurt. The succeeding day we visited all the falls, saw the eagle's nest (perhaps the same) written of by Lewis & Clark, and were impressed by the lower, or "Great" falls, but the others are only pretty and interesting. On our return Plummer, Swift and Wheeler riding ahead, suddenly turned on the top of a hill and rode toward us who were with the ambulance. We supposed they had discovered Indians, and made ready for defending our women and children; but it proved to be a herd of antelope, which they wished me to stalk. When we came in sight of the fort we saw a lot of horses on the plains, and wondered whether they belonged to enemies or friends. Carefully approaching I recognized a dudish young buck who a few weeks before had helped us across the Flathead river, and at that time I had joked him as being a masher among the young squaws, winking at him with one eye, which seemed to tickle his fancy very much. When he saw me he came in front and made the most amusing and ridiculous attempt to wink one eye, imaginable. He was the most dudish young buck that I ever saw. We could talk a little Chinook jargon, and I impressed upon him the enormity of his offence in taking possession of the fort, as it appeared that they came to the fort and the keeper discovering them in season, shut and locked both gates, but while parleying with those at the front some young fellows went to the rear of the palisade and climbing over let the others in. They then compelled the keeper to get them some dinner, and were having things their own way when we appeared. There were ten Flatheads going to the Snake country on a horse stealing expedition. While there they discovered my telescopic rifle which much excited their curiosity. One old fellow who had in some

way become possessed of an old silk hat over which he had slipped a bottomless tin pail which he kept highly polished, came up and examining the rifle said "puff!" "puff!" to ascertain if it was a double barrellled gun. I shook my head and drew his attention to the telescope, and seeing a man on horseback a long distance away I rested the gun on the coral fence and getting it in range let him look through the glass. He soon caught the object, and shouting "Ugh!" drew his scalping knife and made motions as if he were scalping an enemy whose hair he held in his hand, intimating that it brought the object so near that he could grab it. Then every man in the party had to take a look through the wonderful glass. Old tin kettle offered me three horses for the gun.

We have St. Louis papers saying that the Shreveport left that port April 19th, and nothing has been heard from her here, this 8th day of June. Plummer and Swift just returned from Benton report that all there have given up expectation of seeing boats, and the wagon trains have started for the mouth of the Milk river, three hundred miles below.

June 20th, 1863, all the inmates of the fort assembled in the best room to witness the marriage by Father Minatre of the St. Peter's mission, of Miss Electa Bryan to Mr. Henry Plummer. The pretty bride was neatly gowned in a brown calico dress, and was modest and unassuming in appearance. The dapper groom wore a blue business suit, neatly foxed with buckskin wherever needed, a checked cotton shirt and blue necktie. The best man was the tall and graceful Joseph Swift, Jr., who wore sheep's gray pants foxed and patched with buckskin, a pretty red and white sash and a grey flannel shirt, and was under the necessity of wearing moccasins both of which were made for one foot. Being a leader in Blackfoot fashions he wore no coat. Want of more modest and better material is presumably the reason that the Reverend father suggested that I act as a substitute for bride's maid, but I meekly obeyed his order, and my mole-skin trousers, neatly foxed in places which came to wear, a black cloth coat and vest and buffalo skin shoes made up my wedding gear. The ceremony was long and formal. Immediately after the wedding breakfast, of buffalo hump and bread made of corn meal ground in a hand mill, the happy couple left in the government ambulance drawn by four wild Indian ponies, for Banack city, the new metropolis. The poor sister, Mrs.

Vail, was almost heartbroken. Leaving the antecedent and subsequent career of Mr. Plummer for after-consideration, we continue our relation of events. Hardly had the wedding ceremony been concluded, when Bulls Horn, messenger from Benton, arrived with intelligence that the Shreveport would probably reach Benton the next day. Mr. Vail immediately started for Benton, intending to ride through the night, it being cooler and the danger from Indians being lessened. Report came to us that all the horses at St. Peter's mission had been stolen, and we suspect that three half breeds who camped at the farm the night before are the thieves. Some travellers report the finding of clothing and papers on the Little Prickly Pear trail, which would indicate a murder or other tragedy. Two letters were dated at Wasiago, Dodge County, Wis., one Feb. 5 and the other Dec. 25, 1860, addressed to John Little, and signed by Mary Harding. The writer was attending school at Wasiago. Upon Mr. Vail's return from Benton he reported that the Shreveport had reached a point about two hundred miles below Benton, (Cow Island) and had unloaded her freight on the river bank, and returned to St. Louis. The Missouri showed the effect of there being no rain in the country since September of the previous year. Nick Wall who had come from St. Louis by way of Salt Lake, arrived on his way to Benton, and informed me that he had left several letters for me at Bannack city. Mr. Wheeler returned from Benton and took his way to Salt Lake on his journey to St. Louis overland, being discouraged by reports of Indian atrocities from descending the Missouri by Mackinaw boat. The passengers put on shore by the Shreveport were coming into Benton on foot, many used up by their experiences. Provisions were very scarce at Benton, and none could be supplied until the teams came in from Cow Island. July 3rd, the first of the Shreveport tenderfeet, reached the farm and were loud in curses for the captain of that boat. I am very busy in the construction of what Mr. Vail calls a "go-devil." I found at the fort a pair of wheels to which I fitted an axle, and upon the thills attached thereto, I erected a frame upon which I stretched two rawhide thorough-braces like those of a chaise. On these I fastened a dry goods box to which I built a seat and a dasher, all the joints being tightly laced with buffalo rawhide which when dry made them very strong indeed. I cannot con-

scientifically say that the vehicle was handsome, but it was most useful. It saved the trouble and expense of a pack horse, and was much easier than riding a horse. When finished Mr. Vail drove my horse "Colonel" in it, sixty miles to Fort Benton, stopped there twelve hours and returned the third day.

July 4th Mr. Vail and I got out the fort cannon and fired a national salute, but we had no fire-works. All expectation of the arrival of the Indian agent having been given up, and Mr. Vail having no funds to pay Mr. Swift for his year's services, they agree that he shall take from the farm stock at an appraisal for, the amount due to him. It seemed necessary that I should go to Bannack for my letters and find out whether I had a stock of goods on the Shreveport or not. Mr. Swift entered my employ, and just as we were to start for Bannack with the intention of driving his cattle with us, the expressman from there came in on his way to Benton, and informed me that he left all my letters at the new mines on the Stinking water. July 17th we got off, I driving Colonel in my "go-devil" with a spare horse hitched behind, and Swift riding a horse and driving six oxen. The first night out we made camp on the Dearborn, and as he sat with his back against a tree on one side and I on the other both engaged in writing up our diaries, it may have struck some stray Blackfoot as a literary institution. At Deer Lodge, Swift was enabled to turn his stock into money and at Johnny Grant's I found a number of letters including one from my brother in St. Louis, informing me that he had sent me six tons of goods by the Shreveport. We continued on our way to Bannack to find a location for business there, or at the newly discovered mines. At Cariboo's we camped and fed on beaver tail, and with that delicacy and some bread for food we rode the next day to Fred Burr's camp on the Big Hole river, I having crossed the main range for the tenth time. The next day we reached Bannack, and found letters containing bills of lading for goods, key to safe, etc., and within two hours were on our way to the new mines on Alder gulch. Having camped on the Rattlesnake, and at Beaverhead rock, we rode into the new mines the third day, where we found about two thousand people in three embryo towns. Retaining one horse we exchanged the most of our earthly possessions for three yoke of cattle and a wagon, and boldly struck out

for Milk river for our goods, by way over which no wagon had ever been taken, keeping on the east side of the mountains all the way to Benton. From the bridge over the Stinking water we followed down the river and fording the Jefferson struck up a creek which I soon recognized as one we had prospected upon, when we discovered the Boulder mines. At the head of this creek we ran our wagon up into a canyon so narrow that we were forced to unyoke our cattle and drive them out by the side of the wagon, and then draw it out backward. I finally found a very steep hill over which we took our wagon, but had to attach two pairs of cattle behind the wagon to hold it back as we descended it on the other side. We were glad enough to make camp when following down a little stream we came out on a rich bottom, up which we had followed when we made our discovery the fall before. At the crossing of this stream we met four men from the steamer bound for Alder gulch. Our trail led us to the top of a divide which we crossed and soon following down on the little creek, ran into a nest of beaver dams. The sides of the mountain were so steep that we saw no way of taking a wagon along them, and the bottom land was overflowed by reason of the succession of dams made by the beaver. Finally we were compelled to cut a long pole and fastening it across the wagon, one of us holding on the end of it, kept the wagon from overturning, while the other drove the patient oxen. A hard day's work brought us to Prickley Pear creek. In the morning we found the camp of some miners whom we knew, with whom we stopped three days. The boys were meeting with very good success with their sluicing. Late in the evening after leaving our friends we came to Silver creek and the Mul-lan road. In the night, Warren Witcher came into our camp and the next day he and I pushed on with his mule team, toward Benton. We hear that some of the teams have reached Benton with goods. Camping at Bird Tail rock we reached the farm where I was warmly welcomed by the Vails. I was glad to be where I could feel at home, for I was completely used up. The next day Swift came in with our team, and pushed on for Benton. Although unfit for the effort, I started for Benton, all alone, sleeping on the bank of the Missouri at the mouth of Big Coulee. The next morning I rode into Benton, but there was not a spear of grass within miles of the camp, the country being so dry. I paid at the rate



of eight dollars a bushel for corn to feed my pony, and the poor suffering beast did not know enough to eat it. Provisions had become very scarce both here and at the farm, because of the drought and the failure of the boat in reaching Benton. Mr. Vail and I had, since Iron was murdered, been able to furnish all the meat needed, but we had no flour and for weeks were compelled to depend upon what corn meal we could grind out in a hand mill; coarse, but wholesome food. All the cows had gone dry for want of food, and our coffee without milk or sugar was not like nectar, and butter was but a sweet remembrance.

"'Tis an art that needs practice, of that there's no doubt,
But 'tis worth it—this fine art, of doing without."

The next day Swift started his team toward Cow Island, and I, toward Bannack city, alone. Was at the farm August 22nd, and taking my "Go-devil" from there, was at Dearborn the 23rd, Morgan's ranch the 24th, Little Blackfoot the 25th, having crossed the Rockies the eleventh time, and at "Yankee's" cabin in Deer Lodge the 26th, having been entirely alone on the trip.

From the door of the cabin I shot enough grouse for my needs, and leaving a note of thanks for the proprietor, who was absent, I drove to the Cottonwood "Store" to obtain supplies. The storekeeper asked where I was going, and I replied to Bannack. He says, "Alone?" "Yes." "I wouldn't do it, it's not safe." "Well, I have to go, should like company, but must go, alone if necessary." He then informed me that there was quite a party in camp a mile or so below, who were waiting to find a guide to take them to Bannack. He said that they seemed to be nice fellows and were from Lewiston, or some place on the west side. I drove down to their camp and told them I was going to Bannack and would like company, as the Indians were very ugly on the route. One Dr. Howard seemed to be the spokesman, and informed me that one of their men had a lame back and could not ride. I offered to exchange with the party and let him ride in my "go-devil" and I would ride his horse. They, after a short conference fell in with my proposition, and they invited me to stay with them until the next morning and then make a start, which I was glad to do. The party seemed well organized, and consisted of twelve men. They had a good cook called "Red," and I was not permitted to even take

care of my horse, but was their guest. Dr. Howard claimed to be a Yale man, and he and James Romaine seemed to be educated men of agreeable manners. On the fourth day we came after dark to a ranch just out of Bannack, and took up our lodgings in a haystack.

As I walked into town in the morning, almost the first person that I met was Henry Plummer, the sheriff of the mining region. I told him that I came in with a party, some of whom were old friends of his and spoke very highly of him. He asked their names and when I told him, he seemed surprised, and finally said, "Thompson, those men are cut throats and robbers! Hell will be to pay now! You need not associate with them any more than you choose." I was thunder-struck, but afterward wondered how he knew so much about these people. In the mean time Mr. and Mrs. Vail had abandoned the government farm and removed to Bannack city, and the Plummers were boarding with them. I was invited to remain with them also, and gladly accepted their terms. I find this entry in my diary. "Sept. 2nd, 1863, Mrs. Plummer left by overland stage for the States." This was the last time I ever saw her.

My faithful young helper, Joseph Swift, went down to Milk river²⁰ where he met William Vantelberg whom Carroll & Steell had contracted with to deliver my goods in Bannack, for which I was to pay him ten cents per pound. On his way back to Bannack Mr. Swift had his horse stolen by Indians, which he never recovered. He sold out our team for fifty-five dollars more than it cost us. Mr. Swift remained with the train which did not arrive at Bannack until November 9th. The cost of the goods in St. Louis was \$4,012.43 and Mr. Vantelberg's freight bill amounted to \$4,762.32 and I had yet to fight out with the Shreveport its charges for transportation, and my bill for damages for abandoning my goods upon the bank of the Missouri, several hundred miles below Fort Benton where they had contracted to deliver them.

The report of the discovery by William Fairweather and his companions in the spring of 1863, at Alder gulch, of the rich placer mines, spread through the country like wildfire. It brought into this vicinity thousands of adventurers, and hundreds of gamblers, cut-throats, and robbers followed in their wake. The most desperate and reckless men from all the old mining camps rushed to this new Eldorado. "Holdups" of

travellers on horseback and in public and private conveyances, became of daily occurrence. Every mining camp supported its saloon and gambling hell, and fracas and shooting matches in them were of common occurrence. Almost a reign of terror existed. On the 17th of September there arrived at Bannack, Sidney Edgerton with his wife and several children, and his nephew Wilbur F. Sanders with his wife and two boys. Mr. Edgerton, has been appointed by Abraham Lincoln chief Justice of the new territory of Idaho. Coming on their long and weary journey across the plains, to the crossing of Snake river, they had been directed to East Bannack instead of the town of the name of Bannack on the west side of the Rocky mountains, which was then the capitol of Idaho. Idaho had recently been erected from Washington territory and then included the Beaverhead country. Communication over the mountains was thought almost impossible during the winter months, and the new comers were compelled to remain at East Bannack. The prominence of these two men in the affairs of this region will develop as the story proceeds.

Will the reader now go back with me to the time of my arrival at the government farm on my return from the Pacific coast? The train men whom I overtook on the road told me of there being at Bannack a young desperado named Henry Plummer. I was told that he had killed a man in San Francisco and had escaped from the California state prison, and had run such a pace at Lewiston and Oro Fino, that he and Jack Cleveland had fled and crossed the mountains late in the fall, with the intention of going down the Missouri in a Mackinaw boat. Upon reaching Benton the fear of Indians was so great that they could find no person willing to undertake to run the river. Just at this time, Mr. Vail at the government farm feared an attack by Indians, and went to Fort Benton to find help to protect his family. Plummer and Cleveland were engaged to return to the farm for the winter. Here Plummer first met Electa Bryan, the young sister of Mrs. Vail, a pure and beautiful young woman. Mr. Plummer was a good looking young man of twenty-seven, polite, and of good address, and the unsophisticated young lady, isolated in a palisaded log house with no companion of her own sex, excepting her married sister, was easily led by the pleasing manners and quiet assurances of Mr. Plummer to believe that he was the victim of circumstances which for

(To be Continued)



COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S REGIMENT

COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S LEXINGTON ALARM REGIMENT, APRIL 19, 1775
COLONEL PAUL DUDLEY SARGENT'S 28TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES,
JULY-DECEMBER, 1775.

By FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

CAPTAIN JONATHAN BURTON of Wilton, N. H., was born in Middleton, Mass., September 18, 1741, according to the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, Volume 1, Page 67, although the record of his birth does not appear in the Middleton Vital Records. April 2, 1759 at the age of eighteen he enlisted in Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment. In this record the statement was made that he was the son of John Burton and that he resided in Danvers. He may have been the man of the same name who was a private later in 1759 in Captain Andrew Gidding's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagney's Regiment, who served from January 1, 1760, to January 12, 1761, under the same officers. He marched in response to the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, as Captain of the 4th Company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. December 8, 1775 he was Sergeant in Captain Taylor's Militia Company of Amherst, New Hampshire. He kept a diary from the above to January 26, 1776 while in the army about Boston. July 15, 1776, at the age of thirty-five, residence Wilton, New Hampshire, he received £10:16:00 bounty money as advance pay for an expedition to Canada. This company was in Colonel Isaac Wyman's Regiment. He kept another diary from August 1st to November 29, 1776, while in the above service. Both of the diaries have been published in the appendix to Volume 1, New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls. In August, 1778, he served as Ensign in Captain Benjamin Mann's Company, Colonel Nichols's Regiment, in an expedition to Rhode Island. A

summary of his service given in Volume 3, Page 883, New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, credits him with two months' service at Winter Hill in 1775, five months at Ticonderoga in 1776 and three months at Rhode Island in 1780. June 19, 1786, he was appointed Captain by Prest. John Sullivan (of the State of New Hampshire) and Brigade Major, August 5, 1793, by Governor Bartlett. He was a member of the Board of Selectmen of Wilton for sixteen years. He died there August 2, 1811, in his seventieth year.

~~CAPTAIN JOSIAH CROSBY~~
CAPTAIN JOSIAH CROSBY, son of Josiah and Elizabeth (French) Crosby, was born in Billerica, November 24, 1730. From October 27th to December 4th, 1748, he was a centinel in Captain Josiah Willard's Company, and was reported later as dismissed. He settled in Monson (afterward Amherst, now Milford, N. H.) in 1753. He was Captain of a Company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment which responded to the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. From the 23rd of May to the end of the year 1775, he was Captain in the 3rd New Hampshire Regiment. He commanded a company of Amherst (New Hampshire) men in the Battle of Bunker Hill. He died Oct. 15, 1793.

CAPTAIN GEORGE GOULD of Dedham, commanded an independent company of Minute Men which marched from Dedham on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775. May 15, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and served through the year. June 11, 1776 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel William McIntosh's First Suffolk Regiment. June 12, 1778, he was chosen by ballot by the House of Representatives, Second Major of the First Suffolk Regiment, and April 1, 1780, commissioned First Major on the same regiment under command of Colonel McIntosh.

CAPTAIN "HALL" is mentioned in a return dated July 24, 1775, with a note opposite, "full but not yet arrived." No further reference to a Captain Hall in connection with this regiment has been found.

CAPTAIN MOSES HART of Lynn, son of Aaron and Tabitha (Collins) Hart, was born February 15, 1727. He enlisted April 5, 1758, in Captain Samuel Glover's Company, Colonel Joseph Williams's Regiment. Later in the same year he was Sergeant in the same company and Regiment. His place of residence was Lynn. From June 2nd to December 14, 1759 he was Lieutenant in Captain Cary's Company in an expedition against Canada. From February 14, to December 8, 1760, he served as Captain, and again during the seasons of 1761 and 1762. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment and he served until September 5th. The following record explains itself:

"Headquarters, Cambridge, Sept. 5, 1775.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Experience Storrs was president is dissolved.

Capt. Moses Hart of the 28th (Col. Sargent's) tried by the above mentioned Court Martial is found guilty of 'drawing for more provisions than he was entitled to, and for unjustly confining and abusing his men.' He is unanimously sentenced to be cashiered. The General approves the sentence and orders it to take place immediatly." Nothing further is heard of him and Mr. Sanderson in his "Lynn in the Revolution" states it is not improbable that he left Lynn after the above event.

CAPTAIN JAMES KEITH of Easton, served as Ensign in Captain Isaac Otis's (7th Bridgewater) Company, Colonel Thomas Clapp's Regiment in 1762 and in August, 1771, was Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Gannett, Jr.'s (7th Bridgewater) Company, in Colonel Josiah Edson's Regiment, the "Western Division of the late Second Battalion of the Second Regiment of the said County." July 7, 1775 he enlisted as Captain in Paul Dudley Sargent's 28th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts Regiment, and on August 12, 1779, was promoted to the rank of Major. He retired January 1, 1783, and died May 14, 1829.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN MAN of Mason, N. H., was the son of James and Mary (Simonds) Man. He was born in Lexington, Mass., October 23, 1739. His parents removed to Woburn, and from March 7th to November 29, 1760, he was a private in Captain John Clapham's Company.

He responded to the Lexington Alarm call of April 19, 1775, as Captain of a Company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. In the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, Volume 1, Page 100, it is stated that on April 23, 1775, he entered service as Captain in Colonel James Reed's New Hampshire Regiment. He commanded a company in that Regiment at the Battle of Bunker Hill and continued to serve through the year. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel John Bailey's 23d Regiment, Continental Army. In the History of Mason, N. H., to which town he had removed about 1771, it is stated that he was also with the army in Rhode Island. He built a house in the center of the village of Mason, which was owned in 1858 by Asher Peabody, and kept a tavern. He planted the noble elm trees on the common. He was the first Justice of Peace appointed in the town, and was for twelve years moderator of the Town Meeting. About 1800 he sold his estate in Mason and removed to Keene and went from that place to Troy, N. Y., where he resided with his daughter. He died there, December 7, 1831.

CAPTAIN MONKS is mentioned in a return of Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, July 24, 1775, with the note "full but not yet arrived." No further mention of such a man has been found.

CAPTAIN JAMES PERRY of Easton may have been the man of that name who, as a minor, and a resident of Billerica, served from May 5th to December 21, 1761 as a private in Captain Thomas Farrington's Company, and in Captain William Barron's Company, residence Billeric, from May 30, to January 10, 1762. John Day was called his master. He marched on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, as Captain of an independant company from Easton, Mass. July 1, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 28th Regiment, Army United Colonies, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN FREDERICK POPE of Stoughton was the eldest son of Ralph and Rebecca (Stubbs) Pope. He was born in Stoughton, May 15, 1733. In 1757 he served in Major Benjamin Fenno's Troop of Horse, Colonel Miller's Regiment. From March 15th to May 10th, 1760, he served in an expedition to Canada. He marched on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 as a private in Captain Peter Talbot's Company, Colonel Lemuel Robinson's Regiment. June 23, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain of a Company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. It is stated in the History of the Pope Family that he was a representative to the General Court in 1787, 8, 9, 1791, 2 and 6. He died August 20, 1812.

CAPTAIN JOHN PORTER of Bridgewater, was the son of Reverend John and Mary (Huntington) Porter. He was born in Bridgewater, February 27, 1752, and was fitted for college at Lebanon, Conn. He graduated from Yale College 1770, after which he studied divinity, and preached for a short time. June 29, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and served through the year. February 2, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of a company of militia which joined the army as a temporary reinforcement under Major James Wesson. September 12, 1776, he was made paymaster in Colonel Jonathan Ward's 21st Regiment in the Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 13th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. May 30, 1777, he was promoted to the rank of Major, and January 1, 1781 he was transferred to the 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He retired January 1, 1781. After leaving the Army he went to the West Indies and died there.

CAPTAIN JESSE SANDERS (or SAUNDERS) of Rehoboth, was probably the son of Jesse Saunders, who at the age of twenty served as a private in Captain Moses Hart's Company, Colonel William Brattle's Regiment from March 20th to December 8th, 1760. This same man had served during the previous year on an expedition to Crown Point in Captain Oliver Barron's Company. May 4, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment and served at least eighty-nine days as shown in the muster roll dated August 1, 1775. The following order, dated August 9, 1775, explains itself:

"Captain Jesse Saunders of Col. Sergeant's Regiment, tried by the late General Court-Martial for 'frequently drawing more provisions than he had men in his Company to consume; for forcing the sentry, and taking away a gun, the property of William Turner, and threatening the life of Sergeant Connor, cocking and presenting his gun at him when in the execution of his duty.' The Court are unanimously of the opinion that the prisoner is guilty of the whole of the charges exhibited against him, and unanimously adjudged that he be forthwith cashiered. The General approves the above sentences and orders them to be put in immediate execution."

CAPTAIN WILLIAM SCOTT of Peterborough, N. H., was the son of Alexander and Margaret Scott. He was born in 1742. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, he commanded a company from the above town. When the Provincial Army was formed his company became a part of Colonel James Reed's New Hampshire Regiment. This regiment was placed, by order of General Folsom, under the command of General Ward, June 2, 1775, and in the battle of Bunker Hill the regiment marched

over Bunker Hill and took position near Colonel Stark at the rail fence. Captain Scott was wounded while fighting at this point during the battle. We learn from the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls that from July 1st to 7th, 1775, his company was in General Stark's Regiment. On the 7th of July, 1775, it was attached to Colonel Sargent's Regiment, Army of the United Colonies and served in that organization through the rest of the year. January 1, 1776 he became Captain of Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army, and served through that year. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel John Stark's 1st Regiment, New Hampshire Line. He was wounded in the Battle of Stillwater, September 19, 1777, and was promoted to the rank of Major on the following day. He continued to serve with this regiment until retired, January 1, 1781. In the last named year he entered the naval service on board the Frigate "Dane" and served on that and other ships until the end of the war. He appears to have been a man of noble character. He died in Litchfield, N. Y., September 19, 1796, aged 54 years.

CAPTAIN LEVI SPAULDING of Lyndeboro, N. H., was the son of Edward and Elizabeth Spaulding. He was born in Nottingham West (now Hudson) N. H. He was selectman in 1768 and 1774. He was appointed an agent to go to Philadelphia and join the Congress. He was commander of the Second Company in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment which responded to the Lexington Alarm call, April 19, 1775. May 23, 1775, according to the "Historic Register of the Officers of the Continental Army," he became Captain in Colonel James Reed's New Hampshire Regiment and served with that regiment in the Battle of Bunker Hill. In this battle he lost "1 shurt. 2 pair stockings, 1 Briches" and five members of his company lost their guns. He placed the value of his articles lost in the battle at £1:12:11. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel James Reed's Second New Hampshire Regiment in the Continental Army. He served at the Battle of Trenton, and at Valley Forge and Yorktown. He drew a captain's pension until his death which occurred March 1, 1835.

CAPTAIN JEREMIAH STILES of Keene, N. H., was the son of Jacob and Sarah (Hartwell) Stiles. He was born in Lunenburg, Mass., February 23, 1744. In 1760, at the age of sixteen he enlisted in Captain Moses Chile's (Child's) Company, Colonel Oliver Wilder's Regiment. He was a member of a company of foot in Keene in 1773. April 21, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment and served through the year, being in command of a company at the Battle of Bunker Hill. While this date, April 21, 1775, is given in the record in the Massachusetts Archives, the name of Captain Stiles does not appear

in the list of companies made up by Adjutant Stephen Peabody, April 23, 1775. (See beginning of this article.) He served as a member of the Committee of Safety in December, 1776, and was Justice of Peace in 1777. April 27, 1778 he served as delegate to the Convention in Concord, N. H. From 1786 to 1791 he was town clerk, and he served as first grand jurymen from Keene, N. H. He died December 6, 1800, aged fifty six. "A large concourse of fellow citizens attended his funeral," according to the Stiles Genealogy.

CAPTAIN JOHN WILEY of Providence, R. I., was the son of John and Susanna (Aldrich) Wiley of Oxford, Mass. He was born September 20, 1734. April 20, 1756, he was a member of Colonel John Chandler, Junior's Regiment for service in the Crown Point expedition. In 1757 he was a private in Captain Poor's Company, Colonel Nicols's Regiment. Regiment which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry. In 1758 he was a private in Captain Poor's Company, Colonel Nickoll's Regiment. From June 30th to December 2, 1760 he was a sergeant in Captain Cowden's Company. He removed to Grafton, R. I. May 7, 1775 he was engaged as a lieutenant in Captain Jesse Saunders's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and in a company return dated probably October, 1775 he was Captain in the same regiment. January 1, 1777, he became captain in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Massachusetts Regiment. December 15, 1779 he was appointed Major in Colonel Gamaliel Bradford's 14th Massachusetts Regiment. His name appears in a list of commissioned officers at the Huts, near West Point, from October to December, 1780. He retired January 1, 1781.

CAPTAIN JOHN NORWOOD of Colrain was engaged April 24, 1775 Captain in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment and served through the year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL DOUBLEDAY was engaged April 24, 1775 to serve in Captain John Wood's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he held the same rank in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JONATHAN DROWN of Rehoboth enlisted July 9, 1775. He served in that rank in Captain James Keith's Company, Paul Dudley Sargent's 28th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain James Perry's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. In February, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Lee's additional Regiment, Continental Army. He resigned in November, 1778.

LIEUTENANT ISAAC FULLER of Easton, was a corporal in Captain Macy Williams's Company of Minute Men, which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. June 29, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain John Porter's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and he served probably through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army.

LIEUTENANT LEMUEL HOLMES of Walpole, enlisted May 21, 1775, as Lieutenant in Captain Jeremiah Stiles's Company and served in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment at least until August 1, 1775, and probably through the year. January 1, 1776, he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army, and on October 15th of that year was promoted Captain. On the 16th of November, 1776, he was taken prisoner at Fort Washington, losing, according to the statement made in the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, property valued at £20:08:00. He was exchanged November 8, 1778. He lived both in Keene and Surry, New Hampshire and was Proprietor's Clerk for many years and one of the most prominent men of his locality. He was on the Committee of the Walpole Convention concerning the Vermont troubles and represented Gilsum, with Surry and Sullivan six years in the New Hampshire legislature. He was also Justice of Peace and Judge of the County Court. In the History of Gilsum it is stated that "his farm was at the foot of Bald Hill and was still known as the 'Holmes Place' in recent years." In 1790 he was a resident of Surry.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ABIJAH MOORE of Putney may have been the man of that name who served as Lieutenant in Captain Eliphalet "Hom's" Company ("Princeton" District) Colonel John Murray's 3rd Worcester Regiment in October, 1761. His name appears as First Lieutenant in a company return of Captain John Wood's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment (probably October, 1775); and reported discharged. The only man of this name appearing in the first census of the United States in 1790, was at that time a resident of Boston.

FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS NICHOLS of Society (Antrim, N. H.) was the son of Samuel Nichols who came to America from Antrim, Ireland, in 1754. Thomas was one of four brothers all of whom served in the American Revolution. He was an infant when he came to America and in 1767 ran away from his master in Newburyport and went to Antrim, N. H. July 1, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain James Perry's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. In the



"Army and Navy of the United States," Vol. 2, Page 7, his name appears as Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army in 1776, but the author found no further record of that service. According to the New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls he had a company of Rangers at Coos which was raised in February and discharged in April of that year. In the History of Antrim it is stated that "he was a man of much life and energy." He moved to New York State in the Fall of 1808, settling in Cattaraugus. He died in 1811 at the age of 67.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WILLIAM SCOTT was the son of William, Senior, (not Major William) and Margaret (Gregg) Scott. He was born in Peterboro, N. H., January 8, 1756. On the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain William Scott's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and three days later was engaged to join Colonel Sargent's Regiment. He was on the roll, but he was taken prisoner June 17, 1775, at the Battle of Bunker Hill. In 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Henley's Additional Continental Regiment, and April 27, 1779, was transferred to Colonel Jackson's Regiment. He retired January 1, 1781. After the war he settled on the homestead. He lost the use of his lower limbs and was a cripple for about thirty years before his death.

LIEUTENANT CHARLES SMITH. This name appears in Heitman's "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" crediting him with this rank in this regiment from May, 1775, until his desertion in July of that year, but the author can find no allusion to him in the Massachusetts or New Hampshire Archives.

LIEUTENANT ELEAZER SNOW of Bridgewater was probably the man of that name who was born in 1734, the son of Eleazer and Mary (King) Snow. June 25, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Frederick Pope's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. July 6, 1777, he enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Cole's Company, Colonel Robinson's Regiment for service in New England States and until January 1, 1778. In July, 1780, he marched as Lieutenant (service 11 days) in Captain David Packard's Company, Colonel Eliphalet Cary's 3rd Plymouth County Regiment. He died February 1, 1797, aged sixty-four years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT TIMOTHY STOW of Dedham, served as a private in Captain Joseph Guild's (Dedham) Company of Minute Men, Colonel John Greateon's Regiment on the Lexington Alarm of April 19,

1775. May 16, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain George Gould's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. After serving one month and eight days in this organization he became First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Pierce's Company, Colonel Richard Gridley's Artillery Regiment, and he served in that Regiment through the year. According to a disposition sworn to December 14, 1839, by Joseph Stow, son of this officer, Timothy Stow became Lieutenant in Captain Stephen Badlam's Company, Colonel Henry Knox's Artillery Regiment in the neighborhood of Boston from January 1, 1776 to sometime in April, 1776, when he was discharged on account of sickness. In the summer of 1776 he became a Captain in Colonel Ephraim Wheelock's 4th Suffolk Regiment which marched to Fort Ticonderoga. In a pay abstract for mileage allowed dated January 15, 1777, he was allowed mileage for 290 miles, and wages for fourteen and one half days on a march from Skenesborough to Dedham, via Albany. He was probably the man of that name who served as a private in Captain Jotham Houghton's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's Regiment from July 31 to September 14, 1778, service in Rhode Island. He died in Dedham, January 18, 1832 of old age.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOSEPH ABBOTT of Wilton, N. H., enlisted July 25, 1775 to serve in that rank in Captain John Wood's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. In a company return made probably in October, 1775, he was reported "on furlough."

SECOND LIEUTENANT EPHRAIM CLEAVELAND of Ashuelot Equivalent, was the son of Ephraim and Abigail (Curtis) Cleaveland and was born in Dedham, August 6, 1738. As a resident of Dedham he enlisted May 2, 1758 as a private in Captain Eliphalet Fales's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Nichols's Regiment and served at Lake George until his discharge October 18, 1758. He enlisted July 1, 1775, as Lieutenant in Captain George Gould's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and served at least until August 1st, and probably through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became Captain in Colonel Michael Jackson's 9th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He was deranged October 30, 1778.

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM COCHRAN of Stoddard (also given Peterboro, N. H.) according to the New Hampshire Rolls was "one of the Stoddard men out fourteen days at the Lexington Alarm in 1775." He marched at that time as Ensign in Captain William Scott's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. He served under the same commander through the year, and in a company return

dated October 6, 1775, he was called Lieutenant. His name was crossed out on the return. In the "Army and Navy of the United States," Vol. 2, Page 7, his name appears as an Ensign in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army, 1776.

SECOND LIEUTENANT GEORGE REED of Woburn may have been the man of that name who was born in Woburn, January 7, 1749, the son of George and Mary (Wood) Reed. He was engaged April 24, 1775, as Second Lieutenant in Captain John Wood's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment and served one month, nineteen days. He probably was the man of that same name who served as a private in Captain Samuel Belknap's Company which marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775. In a company return dated (probably October, 1775) he was reported deceased.

SECOND LIEUTENANT DAVID THOMAS of Middleborough was the son of William Thomas, Jr. He was born in Middleborough in 1742 and from April 1st to November 24, 1758 he was a private in Captain Benjamin Pratt's Company, Colonel Thomas Doty's Regiment. He was Sergeant in Captain William Shaw's First Middleborough Company of Minute Men which marched in the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775. July 19, 1775 he was engaged as Ensign in Captain James Keith's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and in a Company return dated (probably) October, 1775 he was called Lieutenant of the same company. January 1, 1776 he became Second Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army, and in June was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant, serving through the year. He removed to Woodstock, Vermont about the year 1787.

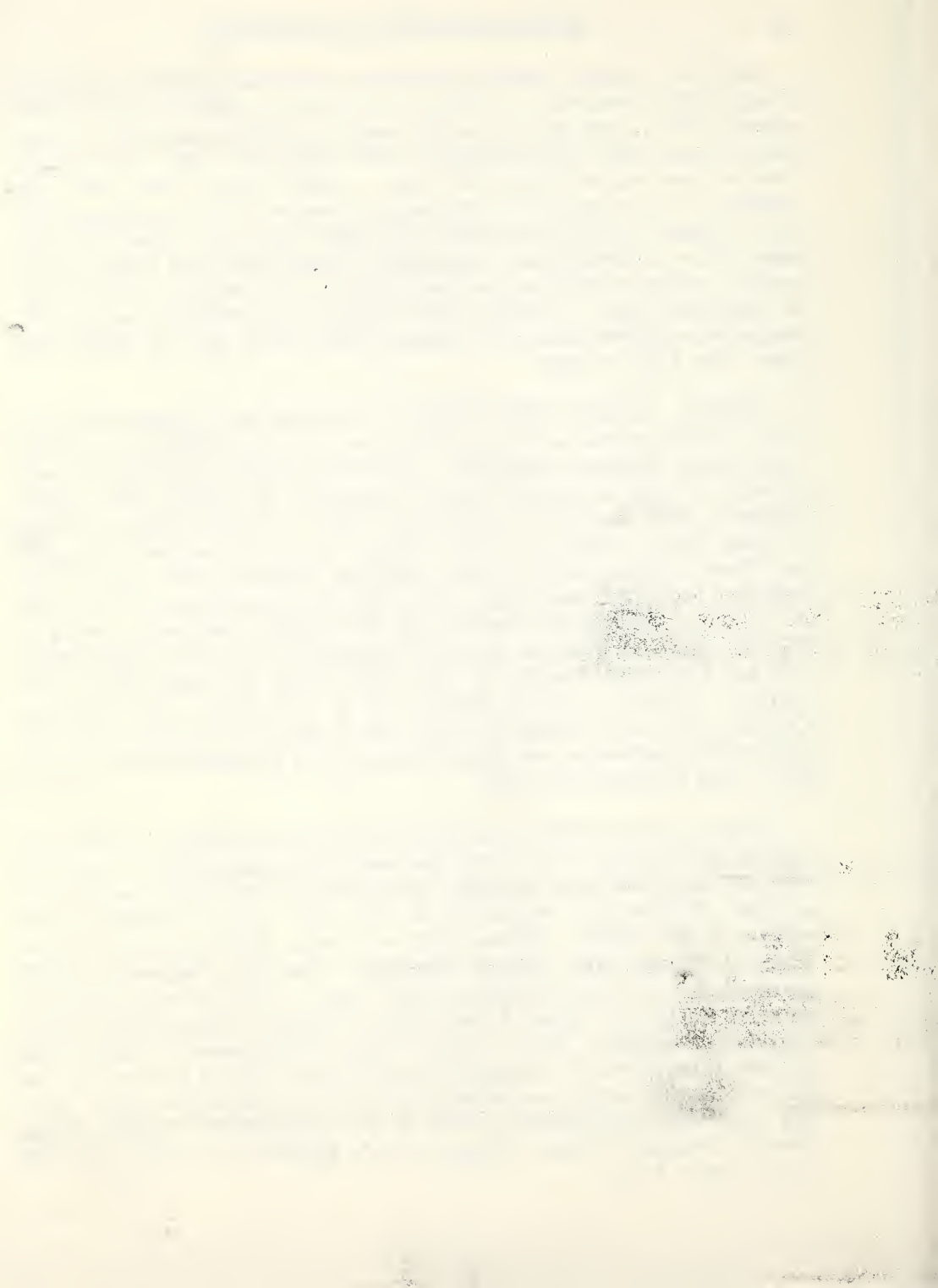
ENSIGN MOODY AUSTIN of Litchfield held that rank in Captain Moses Hart's Company. The date of his enlistment is given in the Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 15, Page 34, as May 4, 1775. No further record of his services has been found.

ENSIGN JOHN GRIGGS of Keene, N. H., was engaged April 21, 1775, as Ensign in Captain Jeremiah Stoddard's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Ensign in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment, Continental Army. In January, 1777, Lieutenant Griggs of Keene was appointed Captain of the 3rd Company, Colonel Alexander Scammel's Third Regiment, New Hampshire Line.

ENSIGN JOSIEL SMITH of Taunton served as a private in Captain Joseph Hall's Company, according to a list dated April 6, 1757. He was engaged July 1, 1775 to serve in this rank in Captain James Perry's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 28th Regiment, Army of the United Colonies, and served through the year. Captain James Perry, the commander of the company, in certifying to a pay roll of the company made up to August 12, 1775 states that "said Josiel Smith and Icabod Pitts had taken places of Seth Owen and Solomon Briggs who had failed to pass muster, owing to sickness, and had served in his company until the last of December, 1775." Although their names were omitted from the roll; wages were allowed under the name of Seth Owen for one month, five days, from July 10, 1775.

ENSIGN AARON STRATTON of Littleton was engaged May 15, 1775, to serve in that rank in Captain Jesse Saunders's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. He served probably through the year. January 1, 1776, he became Second Lieutenant in Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's 16th Regiment, Continental Army. He was taken prisoner at Long Island, August 27, 1776. January 1, 1777 he became Lieutenant in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he held that rank until about May, 1779, when he was promoted to the rank of Captain "although the service was not actually performed, owing to the fact that said Stratton had been captured prior to his appointment and had been held prisoner in New York during the whole time of his service." January 1, 1780, although still in captivity he was ranked as Captain in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. By Act of Congress he was allowed the pay of a Lieutenant from September 1, 1776 to January 21, 1781.

ENSIGN ZACCHEUS THAYER of Braintree evidently served in the French War in 1759, but as two persons of this name have a record of service during that year, one the son of Thomas, and the other the son of Peter Thayer, it is impossible to tell which service belonged to the subject of this sketch. He was clerk of Captain Eliphalet Sawen's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Benjamin Lincoln's Regiment, which marched on the Alarm of April 19, 1775. June 25, 1775, he was engaged to serve as Ensign in Captain Frank Pope's Company, Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment. July 2, 1778 he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Morton's Company, Colonel Thomas Poor's Regiment. The pay roll for this service was dated at Fort Clinton, September, 1778. During November and December, 1778, he was Lieutenant in Captain James Berry's Company, Colonel Thomas Poor's Regiment, the pay roll being dated King's Ferry.



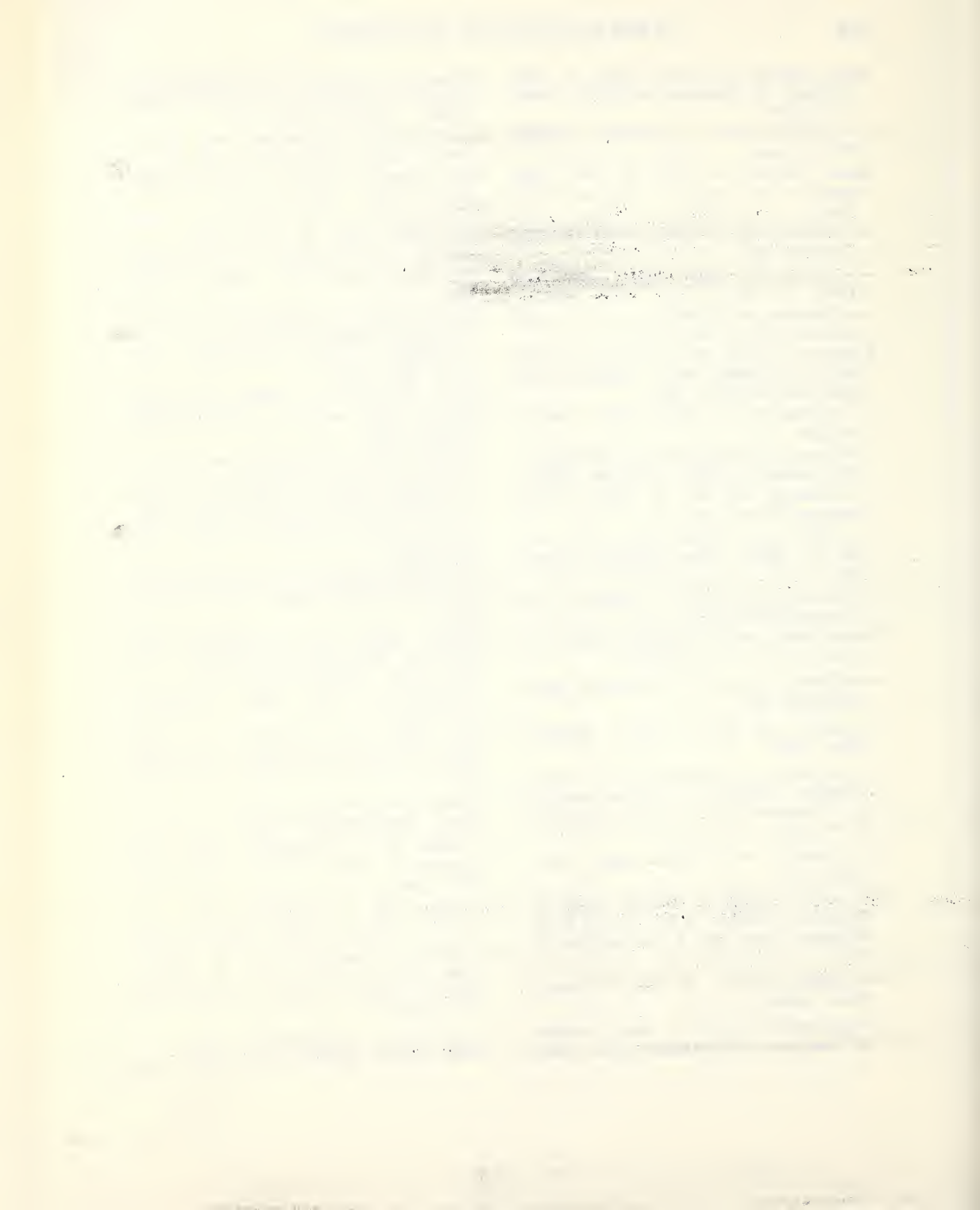
MASSACHUSETTS PIONEERS.

MICHIGAN SERIES.

BY CHARLES A. FLAGG

- RAY, George, b. Great Barrington, 1819; set. O., 1832; Mich., 1855. Traverse, 246.
- RAYMOND, Mary, m. Aaron Rood of Vt. and Mich. Genesee Port., 351.
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- REDDINGTON, Teresa, m. 1840 Addison Tracy of O. and Mich.; d. 1872. Grand Rapids City, 292.
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- Lucy, m. 1800? Washington Moore of N. Y. Washtenaw Hist., 1432.
- Lucy, of Conway, m. 1806 William Moore of N. Y. and Mich. Wayne Chron., 253.
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- Paul, of Boston, set. Mich., 1840? Clinton Past, 124.
- Sarah, b. E. Sudbury, 1801; m. Calvin P. Frost of N. Y. and Mich. Jackson Port., 856.
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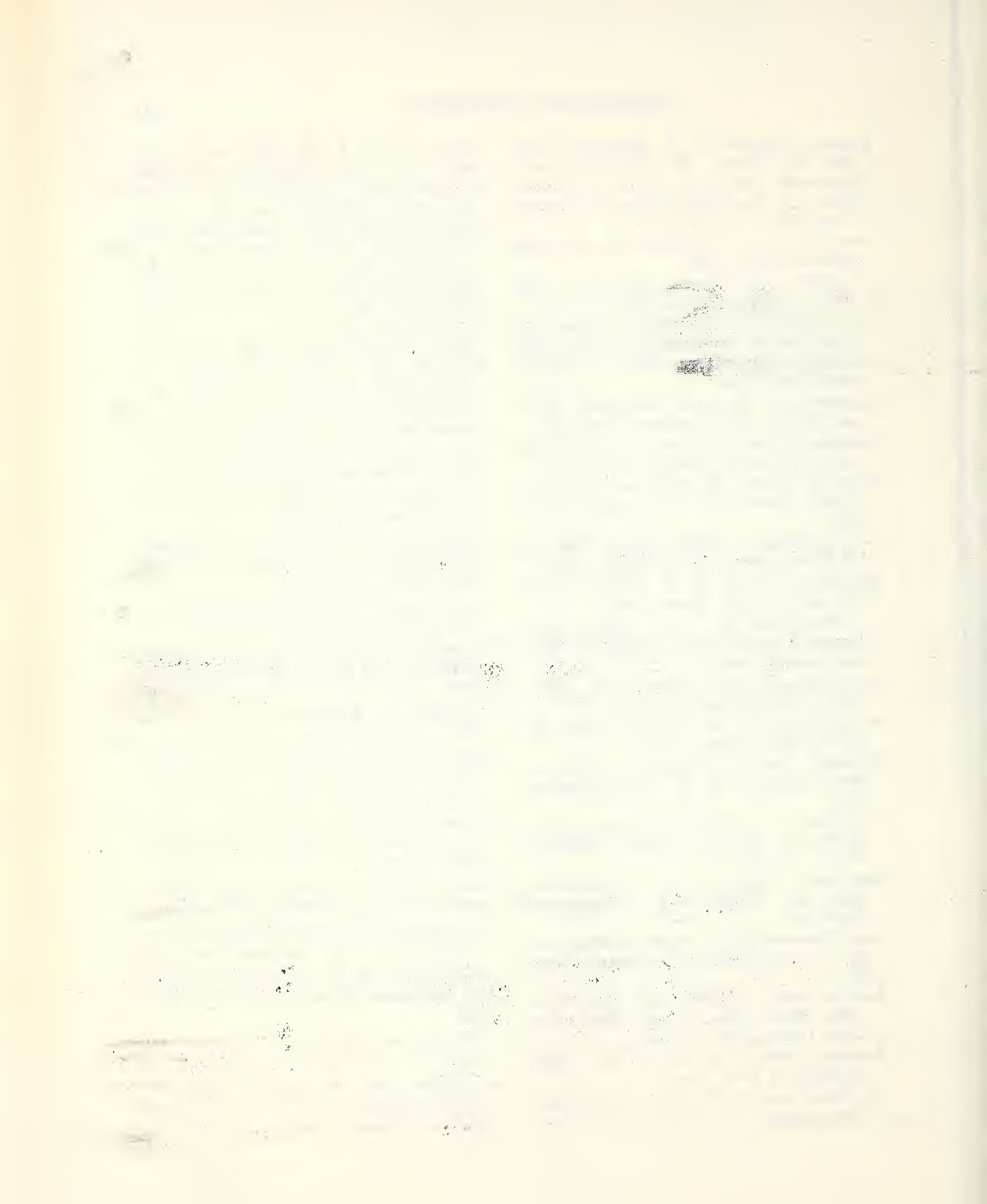
- RICE, Sophia, b. Conway, 1809; m. 1827 Chauncy M. Stebbins of Mich. Ionia Port., 312.
- William, set. O., 1820? Genesee Port., 1049.
- RICH, Charles, b. 1771; set. Vt., 1785; member of Congress. Genesee Port., 1047.
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- James, set. O., 1850? Mich. Mecosta, 392.
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- Willard, set. N. Y., Mich., 1844. Genesee Port., 927.
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- William, set. N. Y., Mich., 1844. Genesee Hist., 312.
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- Lusanah, of Cummington; m. 1790? Obadiah Hamilton of Mass. and N. Y. Lenawee Hist. II, 237; Lenawee Port., 399.
- Thomas, set. Canada, 1840? Midland, 192.
- RICHMOND, Betsey, b. Dalton, 1798; m. William C. Smith of N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 877; Lenawee Hist. II, 289.
- James, set. N. Y., 1815? Canada. Kent, 1382.
- Jonathan, set. N. Y., 1810? member of Congress. Washtenaw Hist., 1035.
- RICHMOND, Rebecca, b. Dighton; m. 1812? Daniel Foster of N. Y., O., and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 845.
- William, of Westport, set. N. Y., 1907. Grand River, appendix, 57.
- RIGGS, Susan, b. 1820? m. Manford Felton of Mich. Gratiot, 352.
- RILEY, H. H., b. Great Barrington, 1813; set. Mich. 1842. St. Clair, 124.
- RING, E. J., b. Hampden Co., 1824; set. O., 1857, Mich., 1865. Saginaw Hist., 691.
- RIPLEY, Abner, b. Plymouth Co.; set. N. Y. 1810? Saginaw Hist., 692.
- William K., set. Me., 1850? Saginaw Port., 529.
- RISING, Oliver, set. O., 1820? Kent, 713.
- ROBBINS, John, set. N. Y., 1830? Mich. Gratiot, 181.
- John A., b. Pittsfield; set. N. Y., 1825? Mich., 1855. Ionia Port., 198.
- Lucy, b. 1802; m. Samuel D. Kenney of Canada. Kalamazoo Port., 341.
- Milton B., set. Mich., 1836. Cass Hist., 267.
- Wendell Phillips, b. Barnstable Co., 1851; set. Mich., 1869. Berrien Port., 147.
- ROBERTS, Polly A., b. Berkshire Co., 1821; m. 1845 Jesse B. Odell of Pa. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 601.
- Zenas, set. Pa., 1830? Lenawee Port., 601.
- ROBIE, Mary G., of Salem; m. 1837 David L. Osborne of Mich. St. Clair, 589.
- ROBINSON, Bartlett, b. 1776; set. N. Y., 1810? Lenawee Port., 432.
- Eliza H., b. Falmouth, 1807; m. Thomas J. Tasker of Mass. Saginaw Port., 942.
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- Gain, b. Clark's Island or Hardwick, 1765 or 1771; set. N. Y., 1800? Lenawee Hist. I, 379, 524; Lenawee Port., 1103.
- Hiram B., b. Springfield, 1823; set. Mich., 1852? Branch Twent., 659.



- ROBINSON, Jeremiah A., b. Concord, 1812; set. O., 1852, Mich., 1858. Jackson Hist., 700; Jackson Port., 305.
- John, b. 1805; set. N. Y., 1824, Mich., 1836; d. 1854. Kalamazoo Port., 429.
- Joshua N., set. O., 1840? Gratiot, 378.
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- Peleg, set. N. Y., 1795? Jackson Hist., 1153.
- Robert, b. Duxbury, 1762; set. N. Y., 1800? Lenawee Hist. II, 89.
- Seth, of Plainfield; set. O., 1830? Gratiot, 543.
- ROBY, E. A., b. Middlesex Co., 1811; set. Wis., Mich. Kent, 1343.
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- ROGERS, Chris. W., b. Petersham, 1847; set. Mo. Lenawee Hist. I, 472.
- Dwight, b. Hardwick, 1818; set. Mich., 1832. Lenawee Hist. II, 247.
- Edward T., b. Petersham, 1845; set. Mo. Lenawee Hist. I, 472.
- Elona, b. Colerain, 1805; m. 1828 Alvin Cross of Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 449.
- Isaac, set. N. Y., 1800? O. Jackson Hist., 925.
- James, set. Mich.; d. 1846. Lenawee Illus., 412.
- James, b. Ashfield, 1815? set. Mich., 1830? O. Lenawee Illus., 285; Lenawee Port., 915.
- Jesse, b. Dana, 1808; set. Mich., 1850? Lenawee Hist. I, 472.
- ROGERS, Margaret, b. Dartmouth, 1788; m. Benjamin Slade of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist., II, 275.
- Mary, of Ipswich; m. Abiel Foster of N. H. (b. 1735). Berrien Port., 886.
- Mary A., b. Hardwick, 1816; m. 1834 George Colvin of Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 305.
- Obadiah, b. Dana, 1792; set. Mich., 1832. Lenawee Hist. I, 167, 305; II, 247.
- Samuel, b. near Boston, 1773; set. N. Y., 1797. Lenawee Hist. II, 330.
- Thomas, of Colerain; set. N. Y., 1809, O., 1816. Washtenaw Hist., 449.
- ROOD, Aaron, set. Vt., Mich., 1826; d. 1854. Genesee Port., 350.
- Edward A., b. 1840; set. Mich., 1861. Berrien Hist., 438.
- Ezra, set. Vt., Mich., 1823. Kent, 687.
- Ezra, set. Vt., Mich., 1861. Berrien Hist., 438.
- Josiah F., from Buckland. Berrien Hist., 438.
- Moses; Revolutionary soldier; set. Vt. Genesee Port., 351.
- ROOT, Daniel, set. N. Y., 1815, Mich., 1835. Jackson Hist., 836.
- Joan, b. Stockbridge, 1780; m. 1803 Stephen Ingersoll of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist., II, 358; Lenawee Port., 743.
- Mary, m. 1820? Silas Pierce of N. Y. Grand Rapids City, 356.
- Pliny, b. Ludlow, 1785; set. N. Y., Mich. Jackson Hist., 1109.
- Timothy, b. 1760? set. Mich. Jackson Hist., 1109.
- William, b. Ludlow, 1816; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Jackson Hist., 149, 1109.
- ROSE, Nathan, b. 1783; set. N. Y., 1790? Macomb Hist., 835.
- Samuel, b. Granville, 1817; set. N. Y., 1827, Mich., 1836. Grand River 439; Newaygo, 423.
- ROSS, A. Hastings, b. Winchendon, 1831; set. O., Mich. St. Clair, 592.

- Ebenezer Brooks of Vt. Macomb Hist., 691.
- ROUNDS, David C., b. Dartmouth, 1836; set. Mich., 1861. Gratiot, 238.
- Richard A., b. Leyden; set. N. Y., Mich. Kent, 1302.
- ROUNSEVILLE, Benjamin, set. N. Y., 1800? Ingham Port., 833.
- ROWLAND, Almira, m. 1830? Henry Harmon of N. Y. and Mich. Kalamazoo Port., 943.
- ROYS, J. E., b. 1824; set. Mich., 1855. Kent, 1269.
- Myron, b. Sheffield, 1808; set. Mich., 1833. Kent, 261, 1422.
- Norman, b. Sheffield, 1807; set. Mich., 1831. St. Joseph, 136.
- RUDE, Mary F., m. 1831 William Packard of Mich. Berrien Hist., facing 434.
- RUNDEL, Warren, set. Conn., Pa., Mich., 1840? Oakland Port., 200.
- RUNDELL, James, set. N. Y., 1830? Mich., 1840. Saginaw Port., 663.
- RUNYAN, Silas, b. W. Stockbridge; set. N. Y., 1810? O. Gratiot, 381.
- RUSH, Justin, Revolutionary soldier; set. N. Y. Ionia Port., 350.
- Orissa, b. 1800? m. Delonza Turner or N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 539.
- Samuel F., b. Cheshire; set. N. Y.; d. 1865. Hillsdale Port., 691.
- RUSS, Nathaniel, b. Salem; set. N. Y., 1830? Mich., 1836. Lenawee Hist. I, 261.
- RUSSELL, Ainsworth T., b. Townsend, 1811; set. Mich., 1861. Bay Hist., 205.
- Elihu, of Franklin Co., set. N. Y., 1818. Ionia Hist., 319.
- Esteven, b. Sunderland, 1817; set. 320.
- Hannah, b. 1815? m. John Brooks of O. Gratiot, 598.
- Howland, set. N. Y., 1800? Genesee Port., 557.
1835. Jackson Hist., 955.
- Mary R., b. Nantucket; m. 1868 Isaac W. Wood of Mich. Kent, 1175.
- Miriam, m. 1820? Ashley Smith of N. Y. Gratiot, 683.
- Newton, b. 1801; set. N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 900.
- William S., b. Sunderland, 1807; set. N. Y., Mich. Wayne Chron., 345.
- RUST, Angeline, b. Northampton; m. 1825 Abel French of N. Y. Ionia Hist., 440.
- Justin, see Rush, Justin.
- RYAN, Maria L., b. Milford; m. 1880 John F. Skinner of Mich. Clinton Past., 320.
- Will E., b. Adams, 1867; set. Mich. Grand Rapids City, 372; Grand Rapids Hist., 782.
- RYDER, Polly, m. 1820? William O. Marshall of O. and Wis. Lenawee Port., 1088.
- RYTHER, Elkanah, b. 1795; set. Canada, Mich., 1838. Berrien Port., 247.
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- Ziba, b. 1784; set. N. Y. Allegan Hist., 291.
- SACKETT, Lemuel, Jr., b. Pittsfield, 1808; set. N. Y., 1822, Mich., 1829. Macomb Hist., 601; Macomb Past, 608.
- SADDLER, Seth C., b. Ashfield, 1809; set. N. Y., Mich., 1831. Genesee Hist., 231.
- SAGE, Eliza, m. 1840 Daniel Harris of N. Y. Ingham Port., 621.
- SALMON, Caroline, m. 1825? Nathaniel Redington of O. and Mich. Ionia Port., 221.
- SAMPSON, Caleb, b. 1781; set. Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 590.
- Miss E. L., of Lakeville; m. 1859 comb Hist., 908.
- SAMSON, George W., b. 1781; set. N. Y. Berrien Port., 250.

- SAMSON, Horatio G., b. Kingston, 1812; set. Mich., 1836. Berrien Port., 250.
- SANDERSON, David, b. 1805? set. N. Y., 1806, O., 1834, Mich., 1850. Macomb Past, 268.
- Elnathan, b. 1776; set. N. Y., 1806. Macomb Past, 268.
- Pliny, set. N. Y., 1820? O., 1836, Mich. Clinton Port., 776.
- William, b. Franklin Co., 1809; set. Mich., 1830. Washtenaw Hist., 1449.
- Zimri, set. Mich., 1830. Washtenaw Port., 608.
- SANDFORD, J. M., b. S. Westport, 1811; set. Mich., 1835. Jackson Hist., 869.
- SANFORD, Frank, of Boston; bought land in Mich., 1837. Allegan Hist., 269.
- SANGER, Chloe, b. 1797; m. John B. Brockelbank of N. Y. Lenawee Port., 573.
- Laoidea, m. 1825? Henry Hubbard of Mass. and O. Ionia Port., 705.
- SARGEANT, James F., b. Boston, 1829; set. Mich., 1836. Kent, 1118.
- Nathaniel O., set. Mich., 1835. Grand Rapids Hist., 170; Grand Rapids Lowell, 102.
- Thomas, from Boston; set. Mich., 1835? Grand Rapids Hist., 177.
- Thomas S., b. Malden, 1831; set. Mich., 1836. Kent, 1118.
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- Nancy, b. Pittsfield, 1836; m. 1855 Moses B. Marsh of Mich. Midland, 263.
- SAUNDERS, James B., b. W. Harwich, 1844; set. Mich., 1857. Washtenaw Past, 79.
- Thorndike P., b. Bedford, 1810; set. N. Y., Mich., 1857. Washtenaw Past, 79.
- SAVAGE, John, b. Salem, 1788; set. N. Y., 1788, Mich., 1840. Cass Hist., 405; Cass Twent., 84.
- SAVERY, George C., set. N. Y., 1840? Washtenaw Port., 359.
- Isaac, set. N. Y., 1848. Washtenaw Port., 544.
- SAVERY, Isaac P., b. 1838; set. N. Y., 1848, Mich., 1859. Washtenaw Port., 544.
- SAWTELL, Levi, b. near Boston; set. N. Y., 1800? Lenawee Illus., 76.
- SAWYER, Albert E., b. Charlemont, 1820; set. O., 1850, Mich. Osceola, 295.
- Amanda P., b. Egremont, 1813; m. Camp Kelley of N. Y. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 661.
- Caleb, b. 1811; set. N. Y., Mich., 1834. Ingham Port., 639.
- Holloway, b. Harvard, 1827; set. Mich., 1849. Monroe, appendix, 32.
- Sarah, b. 1784; m. Richard Bryan of Mass. and Mich. Hillsdale Port., 410.
- SCOTT, Jesse, b. Chester, 1818; set. Mich., 1831. Washtenaw Hist., 506, 735.
- Joseph E., set. N. Y., Mich., 1845. Kalamazoo Port., 984.
- Lemuel S., of Cheshire, b. 1790; set. Mich., 1831. Ionia Hist., 465; Washtenaw Hist., 590, 735.
- Nathan B., b. Cheshire, 1825; set. Mich., 1830. Ionia Hist., 461.
- Olive, m. 1825? Chauncy Crittendon of Mass., and N. Y. Kalamazoo Port., 825.
- Samuel b. Berkshire Co.; set. N. Y., 1814. Newaygo, 277.
- SCOVEL, Lois, b. Berkshire Co.; m. 1810? David S. Walker of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 518.
- SCUDDLE, Eliza H., of Hyannis; m. 1871 N. Cordary of Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 1199.
- SEARS, Achsah, m. 1810? George Ranney of N. Y. Hillsdale Port., 871.
- Carrie, b. Greenwich, 1800; m. John G. Clark of N. Y. Ingham Port., 389.
- Hannah M., b. W. Hawley, 1839; m. Benjamin Wing of Mich. Isabella, 498.
- John, set. Me., 1800? Branch Port., 352.
- Mary Ann, b. Ashfield, 1813; m. 1831 Abraham Moe of Mich. Lenawee Hist. II, 149.



- SEARS, Peter, b. Ashfield, 1787; set. Mich., 1826 or 1827. Lenawee Hist. II, 149; Washtenaw Hist., 646; Washtenaw Past, 806; Washtenaw Port., 340.
- Rhoda, b. Yarmouth, 1771; m. — Smith of N. Y. Macomb Hist., 763.
- Richard, b. 1775; set. Conn., N. Y.; d. 1829. Lenawee Hist. II, 271; Lenawee Port., 645.
- Roxana, m. 1810? Austin Lilly of Mass. and O. Kalamazoo Port., 327.
- Solomon F., b. Ashfield, 1816; set. Mich., 1827. Washtenaw Hist., 506, 665; Washtenaw Port., 340.
- Mrs. Sophia J., b. 1792; set. Mich., 1837; d. 1879. Washtenaw Hist., 488.
- Thomas, b. Ashfield; set. N. Y., 1820? Mich., 1837. Washtenaw Hist., 818; Washtenaw Port., 228.
- Thomas, b. Peru, 1827; set. Mich., 1837. Washtenaw Hist., 818.
- William, b. Ashfield, 1818; set. N. Y., Va., Mich., 1857. Grand Rapids Lowell, 493.
- SEAYER, William, of Lowell; set Mich., 1858. Allegan Hist., 366.
- SECOY, Phebe, m. Samuel Sprague of O. Gratiot, 389.
- SEEKELS, Jerusha, b. Ashfield; m. 1830? David Taylor of O. Genesee Hist., 391.
- SEEKINS, Diadama, m. 1810? Daniel Smith of N. Y. Washtenaw Port., 389.
- SEELEY, Minerva, of Berkshire Co.; m. 1820 Ira R Paddock of N. Y. and Mich. Branch Port., 454.
- SERGEANT Gennett, b. 1822; m. Ethan H. Rice of Mich. Jackson Hist., 699.
- James, b. Boston, 1831; set. Mich., 1836. Kent, 263.
- Nathaniel O., see Sargeant.
- Richard B., set. N. Y., 1815? Clinton Port., 752.
- SESSIONS, George, b. S. Wilbraham, 1784; set. N. Y., Mich., 1833 or 1834. Washtenaw Hist., 646; Washtenaw Port., 451.
- SESSIONS, Orrin F., set. Vt., 1820? Kent, 752.
- SEVERANCE, Sarah J., b. Rockport, 1854; m. 1875 Owen F. Teepees of Mich. Sanilac, 434.
- W. D., of Franklin Co., b. 1812; set. Mich., 1835. Jackson Hist., 1029.
- SEXTON Hannah, m. 1810? Dan Monroe of N. Y. Newaygo, 437.
- Martha, m. 1790? Ephraim Hutchison of N. Y. Jackson Hist., 832.
- SEYMOUR, Hannah, b. 1787; set. Mich. Washtenaw Hist., 590.
- Lovica C. b. Hadley, 1814; m. 1834 Edwin Cook of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 353.
- SHACKLETON, Thomas, b. Lowell, 1841; set. Canada, 1843. Mich., 1873. Macomb Hist., 603.
- SHADDUCK, Roxania, b. near Boston, 1800; m. 1800 Joseph Camburn of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 412.
- SHATTUCK, Alfred, b. 1794; set. N. Y., Mich., 1832. Oakland Port., 438.
- Charles A., b. Leyden, 1815; set. N. Y., Wis., Mich. Hillsdale Port., 923.
- Mary, b. Colerain, 1795? m. Ira Donelson of Mich. Oakland Biog., 174.
- Roland, set. N. Y., 1830? Clinton Port., 446.
- Samuel Dwight, b. Chesterfield, 1811; set. N. Y., Mich., 1832. Macomb Hist., 834, 884, 896; Macomb Past, 245.
- SHAW, Addison C., set. O., Mich., 1846. Branch Port., 395.
- Brackley, b. Abington, 1790; set. N. Y., 1825, Mich., 1835. Lenawee Hist. I, 424; II, 437; Lenawee Port., 237.
- Brackley, b. Plainfield, 1818; set. N. Y., 1825, Mich., 1835. Lenawee Hist. I, 424; Lenawee Port., 238.
- Ebenezer, 1812 soldier; set. Canada. Ingham Port., 836.
- Hannah, b. Middleboro, 1782; m. George W. Samson of N. Y. Berrien Port., 250.

- SHAW, Humphrey, b. Westport, 1809; set. Mich., 1837. Saginew Port., 564.
- James, set. O., 1840? Ionia Port., 717.
- Lyanda, b. Worthington, 1813; m. 1831 Alonzo Mitchell of Mich. Lenawee Port., 286.
- Persis, m. 1825? Solomon Cowles of N. Y., Canada and Mich. Ionia Port., 346.
- Philip, b. 1770; 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., 1815? Mich., 1830. Oakland Biog., 668.
- Philip, b. Dighton, 1781; set. N. Y., Mich., 1829. Oakland Hist., 322.
- Sarah, of Lanesboro, m. 1832 David A. Noble of Mich. Monroe, 250.
- Silena M., m. 1833, Norton D. Warner of Mich. Lenawee Hist. I, 352.
- SHEARER, James M., b. Colerain, 1815 or 1817; set. Vt., Mich., 1849. Ingham Port., 810; St. Clair, 123.
- Jonathan, b. Colerain, 1796; set. N. Y., 1822 or 1824, Mich., 1836. Ionia Hist., 394; St. Clair, 119; Wayne Chron., 79, 189.
- Lydia, b. Ashfield, 1818; set. Mich. St. Clair, 123.
- Maria, m. 1847, D. G. Jones of N. Y. and Mich. St. Clair, 715.
- SHEDD, Sylvester, b. 1786; 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., Mich., 1836. Berrien Port., 549; Berrien Twent., 882.
- SHEFFIELD, Joseph H., b. Worcester, 1861; set. Mich., 1884. Muskegon Port., 165.
- SHEPARD, James M., b. N. Brookfield, 1840; set. Mich., 1868. Berrien Port., 288. Cass Hist., 180; Cass Twent., 557.
- Joseph, b. 1779; set. N. Y. Berrien Port., 673.
- Mary A., m. 1800? Augustus Greenman of N. Y. Shiawassee, facing 284.
- SHEPHERD, Dexter, see CUTLER.
- SHERIDAN, Owen, b. Middlesex, 1827; set. Wis., 1851, Mich., 1855. Upper P., 310.
- SHERMAN, Abram, 1812 soldier; set. N. Y., 1820? Oakland Port., 556.
- SHERMAN, Daniel, set. Mich., 1832. Shiawassee, 523.
- Electa, of Lanesboro; m. 1803 Daniel Loomis of Mass. and N. Y. Lenawee Hist. I, 123.
- Elizabeth, m. 1830? John Swick of Mich. Hillsdale Port., 755.
- Jarrah, set. N. Y., 1830? Jackson Port., 753.
- Lydia, of Berkshire Co.; m. 1815? Caleb Beals of N. Y. and Mich. Lenawee Port., 214, 844.
- Mary, b. Grafton, 1725? m. 1748 John Cooper, of Hardwick. Branch Port., 614.
- P. L., b. New Bedford, 1844; set. Mich., 1879. Bay Hist., 274.
- Timothy, of Lanesboro; set. O., 1812. Lenawee Hist. I, 123.
- SHERWOOD, Lucinda, m. 1825? Rufus Herrick of N. Y. and Mich. Ingham Port., 619.
- SHIPTON, Charles, b. Sternville, 1860; set. Mich., 1868. Detroit, 1390.
- SHORT, Hopy, b. 1768; m. James Green of N. Y.. Oakland Port., 839.
- Lucinda, m. 1800? Isaac Bishop of N. Y. Macomb Hist., 646.
- Naomi, m. 1800? John Norton of N. Y. and Mich; d. 1825? Kent, 1342; Oakland Biog., 164; Oakland Hist., 151.
- SHUMWAY, Levi, b. Belchertown, 1788; set. N. Y., 1804, Mich., 1829. Branch Hist., 246; Branch Port., 622; Lenawee Hist. I, 270.
- Sally, b. 1787; m. Amariah Bemis of Conn. Oakland Port., 349.
- SHURTLEFF, Selah, of Montgomery; set. O., d. 1861. Branch Port., 403, 540.
- SHURWIN, A. S., Revolutionary soldier; set. O. Muskegon Port., 347.
- SIBLEY, Alvah, b. Berkshire, 1796; set. N. Y., 1817, Mich., 1835. Macomb Hist., 710.
- John, set. N. Y., 1810? Clinton Past, 288.
- Solomon, b. Sutton, 1769; set. O. 1796, Mich. Detroit, 1031; Wayne Land., 364.

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Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

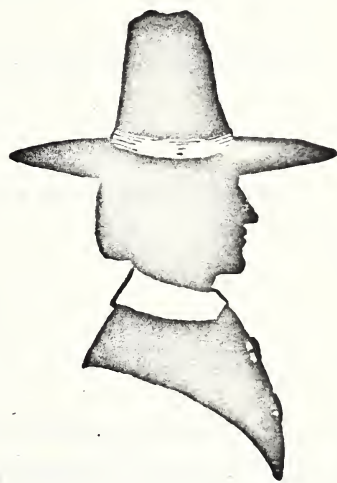
Not every contribution to local history bears a title beginning with the formal "History of." We have in hand a pamphlet of 34 pages entitled "Amorah Chandler and His Times," by Judge Francis M. Thompson, printed by T. Morey & Son, Greenfield, Mass. It was read before the Pacumtuck Valley Memorial Association at its annual meeting, February, 1909.

Rev. Amorah Chandler, descendant in the sixth generation of William and Annie Chandler of Roxbury, was born in Deerfield, Mass., 1782 and died in Greenfield, Mass., 1864. His entire active life was comprised in two settlements: the Congregational Church of Waitsfield, Vt., 1810-1830 and the North Parish of Greenfield, Mass., 1832-1864.

Waitsfield was largely settled from Massachusetts, and on pages 5 to 10 is found a list of pioneers, mostly from the various towns of Franklin County, who settled there.

In the later settlement, Greenfield, Judge Thompson gives us a most attractive picture of the old school, county pastor and his relations with the community, enlivened by citations from diaries, personal reminiscences, etc.

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CORRESPONDENCE of a business nature should be sent to THE MASSACHUSETTS MAGAZINE, Salem, Mass.

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COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD'S REGIMENT

COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD'S 7TH REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, MAY TO JULY, 1775.

COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD'S 19TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES, JULY TO SEPTEMBER 15, 1775.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ISRAEL HUTCHINSON'S 19TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES, SEPTEMBER 15TH TO DECEMBER, 1775.

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

This regiment, composed entirely of Essex County men, was organized in the early part of May, 1775, and became the 7th Regiment in the Provincial Army. Colonel John Mansfield, to whom the command was given, had been Lieutenant Colonel in command of the First Essex County Regiment (Colonel Timothy Pickering's) which responded to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, and served six days. The Field and Staff officers of the regiment were as follows:

"Col. John Mansfield, Lynn, May 3, 1775.

Lt. Col. Israel Hutchinson, Danvers, May 3, 1775.

Major Ezra Putnam, Middleton, May 3, 1775.

Adj't Tarrant Putnam, Danvers, May 4, 1775.

Qt. Mr. Samuel Goodridge, Beverly, May 20, 1775.

Surgeon Edw. Durant, Holliston, May 3, 1775.

Surgeon's Mate Nath'l Oliver, Danvers, May 4, 1775."

The following letter explains itself:

"Salem, May 10, 1775.

It appearing highly expedient that a regiment should be formed from Salem & its environs,—with a view to serve the general cause, I took the liberty of recommending Col. Mansfield & Capt. Hutchinson to be the Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of it. They then appeared to me the most suitable persons that could be found willing to fill those places; & I am still of the same opinion. I should not give you any further trouble by means of Col. Herrick. The latter, as Mr. Hutchinson informs me, declared himself well pleased with his appointment & heartily, in appearance, congratulated him upon it; & yet, with might and main, is now endeavoring to supplant him; and he builds his hopes of succeeding, it seems—not upon Col. Hutchinson's insufficiency—nor upon his own superior ability & merit; but upon a foundation which a man of honor, I think.



would reject with disdain:—*Colonel Herrick, truly, has friends in court!*—An admirable plea for his advancement! An incontestable evidence of his merit.— I should not have opened my lips to Col. Herrick's disadvantage had he not, in a manner which to me appears most ungenerous, endeavored to supplant Col. Hutchinson; & otherwise treated him with great *incivility*, to use a gentle word. What I have here said, Gentlemen, is grounded wholly upon Col. Hutchinson's account of the matter; but from the manners and character of the gentleman I cannot suffer myself to doubt his veracity.

Nevertheless if I am misinformed I will readily ask Col. Herrick's pardon. I should not, gentlemen, have presumed to intrude myself upon you, if Col. Hutchinson himself had had an opportunity of laying the affair before you; but as he failed of this, I thought myself bound in justice to support him, & to express my indignation & bear my testimony against the indecent attack, by which a post well deserved and fairly obtained was attempted to be wrested from him. This letter, if it comes to Col. Herrick's knowledge, will undoubtedly offend him; but, if it be *necessary* to expose it, I do not wish it should be concealed. Yet I am desirous of the friendship of all men. But in the innocence & integrity of my heart I wrote my first letter in favor of Col. Mansfield & Col. Hutchinson & in the same spirit I have written this, and if a gentleman is offended with me for doing my duty,—I can bear his resentment or reproaches with patience. I had like to have forgot to add tho' tis of importance, & what for the good of the common cause, I am bound to say,—that 'tis probable the regiment will be much dissatisfied if the Lieut. Col. be displaced; & one company, I am informed, have already expressed great uneasiness about it.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

Tim. Pickering, Jun.

To the Committee of Safety".

The opposition of Lt. Col. Henry Herrick of Beverly to the appointment of these officers may be explained in part by the following records of Colonel Timothy Pickering, Junior's Regiment in the archives. In Vol. 26, Page 150, Henry Herrick is named as Lieutenant Colonel of this regiment with two days service on the Lexington Alarm, and in Vol. 26, Page 212, Lieutenant Colonel John Mansfield of Lynn is named as the commanding officer of the First Essex County Regiment (Colonel Timothy Pickering, Commander).

"Col. Mansfield having satisfied this committee that his regiment is in forwardness, he had a certificate thereof, and a recommendation to Congress that the regiment be commissioned accordingly.

Committee of Safety, May 27, 1775."

"The names of the Captains in Col. Mansfield's Regiment

Capt. Ezra Newhall

Capt. Thomas Barns

Capt. Enoch Putnam

Capt. Addison Richardson

Capt. Ebenezer Francis

Capt. John Low

Capt. Asa Prince

Capt. Gideon Foster

Capt. Benjamin Kimball

Capt. Nathan Brown."

In Congress May 27, 1775.

Ordered that Commissions be delivered to the Captains in Coll. Mansfield's Regiment agreeable to the within list.

May 27, 1775.

Sam'l Freeman, Sec'y."

"In Provincial Congress, May 27, 1775.

Ordered that the Committee appointed to give out Commissions be directed, to deliver commission to Israel Hutchinson as Lieut. Collo. and Ezra Putnam, Esq. Major of Collo. Mansfield's Regiment.

Sam. Freeman, Sec'y."

"Collo. Mansfield's Return, May 27, 1775.

Capt. Newall

53

Capt. Frances

50

Capt. Putnam

50

Capt. Prince

50

Capt. Kimble

45

Capt. Barnes

45

Capt. Richardson

47

Capt. Low

45

Capt. Foster

40

425

John Mannsfield."

"June 7, 1775.

"Ordered, That commissions be delivered to the Lieutenants and ensigns in Colonel Mannsfield's Regiment. Agreeably to the list by him exhibited."

Third Provincial Congress.

The subalterns in the companies of this regiment were named in the following list, dated June 7, 1775.

"Colo. Mansfield's Regiment

Zadock Buffington

John Pierce

John Dodge

Benj. Craft

James Bancroft

James Matthews

John Upton

Grimes Tufts

Job Whipple

Benja. Gardner

Nath'l Cleaves

Joseph Herrick



Francis Cox
 Stephen Wilkins
 Bille Porter
 Ephm Emerton

Frederick Breed
 Archelaus Batchelor
 Harfial White
 _____ Downing."

The unfortunate circumstances connected with the service of Colonel Mansfield and his regiment at the Battle of Bunker Hill are shown in the following quotations from Howard Kendall Saunderson's excellent account given in his admirable work "Lynn in the Revolution".

"At about three o'clock in the afternoon General Ward dispatched the Nineteenth Regiment (7th Regiment Provincial Army, 19th Regi-Army United Colonies after July, 1775), commanded by Col. Mansfield, to reinforce General Israel Putnam and Colonel Prescott. At this time everything was in an uproar, and the uttermost confusion prevailed. The terrific fire from the British men-of-war swept Charlestown Neck, a hand-to-hand fight was in progress on Breed's Hill and Charlestown was in flames. Some regiments were advancing, others halting, other retreating. Major Scarborough Gridley had been ordered with his artillery to advance, but, after reaching Cobble Hill, he decided to halt and cover the retreat which he thought to be inevitable. Colonel Mansfield at this time, came up with his regiment, and was ordered by Major Gridley to halt and support him. Here was made the fatal mistake of Colonel Mansfield, for he disobeyed the order previously given him. took those of an inferior officer and halted his regiment. Thus in sight of the battle the Lynn men under Captain Ezra Newhall stood still until about five o'clock, when the conflict ended. That night Colonel Mansfield's Regiment lay upon its arms at Winter Hill, expecting a continuance of the attack on Sunday morning, but the British had met with such severe losses that they did not care to renew the battle. Colonel Mansfield was field officer of the day on the 18th and on the 23rd his regiment was ordered to camp on Prospect Hill. On the 30th of June the Provincial Congress ordered the commission of Colonel to be delivered to Colonel John Mansfield to date from May 19th. When the army was re-organized in July, 1775. this regiment became the 19th in the Army of the United Colonies. On the 4th day of July he was present at Cambridge, and met General Washington, who, on the day before had taken charge of the army, and who on the next day detailed him as officer of the day. Soon after Colonel Mansfield was ordered to make a return of his regiment, which he did, showing

399 officers and men effective
 26 sick present
 23 sick absent
 21 on furlough
 11 command

470 in all

On July 8th he was again officer of the day and on July 22nd General Washington ordered the army formed into a brigade, and Colonel Mansfield's Regiment together with that of John Stark was placed under the command of John Sullivan and posted on Winter Hill. During this time a part of his regiment was employed in making bricks for the army." As stated by Saunderson in "Lynn in the Revolution" "in the early part of August, jealousy and bad feeling developed among his men, gradually increasing until three of his officers went to General Washington and accused Colonel Mansfield of cowardice in the engagement of June 17th. Two months after the battle, therefore, on the 13th of August, 1775, the following entry occurs in the orderly book of the Commander-in-Chief:—

'A general court martial to sit tomorrow to try Colonel John Mansfield, of the Massachusetts forces, accused by three of his officers of high crimes and misdemeanors, One Brig. Genl. and twelve field officers to compose the Court'."

The result of this court martial is shown in the following:

"Headquarters, September 15, 1775.

(Parole Pittsburg)

(Countersign Ulster)

Colonel John Mansfield of the 19th Regiment of Foot tried at a General Court Martial wherein Brigadier-General Greene was Present, for 'remissness and backwardness in the execution of his duty at the late engagement on Bunker's Hill.' The Court found the prisoner guilty of the charge and of a breach of the forty-ninth article of the Rules and Regulations of the Massachusetts Army, and therefore sentenced him to be cashiered, and rendered unfit to serve in the Continental Army.

The General approves the sentence and directs it to take place immediately".

The forty-ninth article referred to above, reads as follows:

"All crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects, which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offense and to be punished at their discretion." The punishment meted out to Colonel Mansfield was thought by some of the officers in the army far too severe, as Colonel Mansfield erred in judgment in halting and supporting Major Gridley instead of obeying the orders of the commanding officer, General Ward, and proceeding to the scene of the battle. Other officers were accused about the same time, and were acquitted, some of them claiming that orders were misunderstood, while others pleaded sickness.

Lieut. Colonel Israel Hutchinson became commander of the regiment and served through the remainder of the year without change in rank.

In September and October, 1775 the regiment was stationed at Roxbury.

The following shows the rank attained by the officers of this regiment during the war; 3 colonels, 2 lieut. colonels, 3 majors, 14 captains, 8 first lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, a surgeon and a surgeon's mate. One officer, Captain Gideon Foster, became major general of militia, after the war.

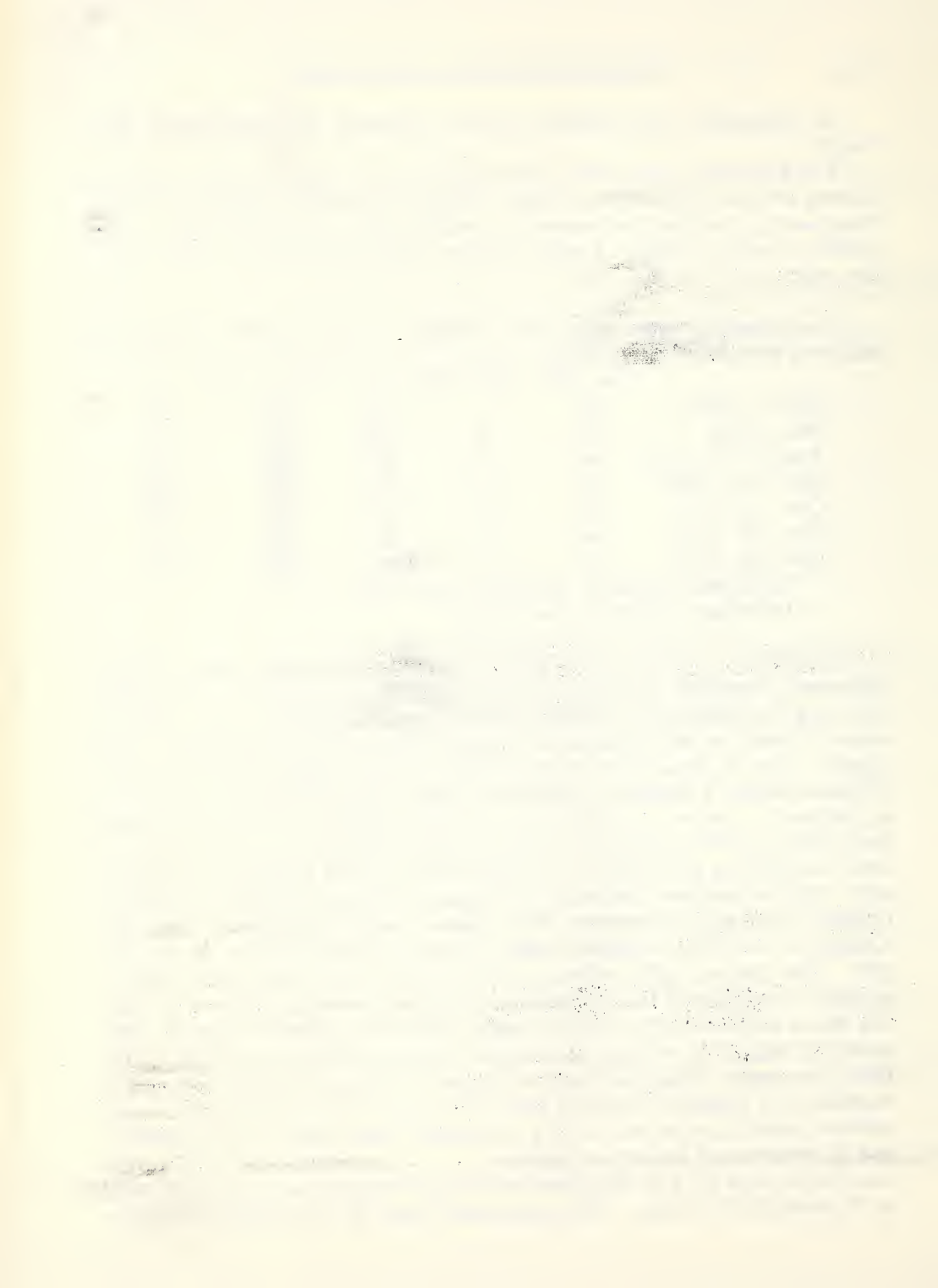
The following table shows the strength of the regiment during the different months of the year:—

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Com.	Rank & File	Total
June 9, 1775	29	..	33	385*	447
July, 1775	23	5	53†	470	551
August 18, 1775	22	2	45	484	553
Sept. 23, 1775	24	5	42	483	554
Oct. 17, 1775	22	3	42	491	558
Nov. 18, 1775	20	5	40	466	531
Dec. 30, 1775	21	4	36	548	609

*Including corporals, drummers and fifers.

†Including drummers and fifers.

COLONEL JOHN MANSFIELD, son of Jonathan and Martha (Stocker) Mansfield, was born in Lynn, February 19, 1721-22. December 13, 1754, he enlisted in Captain John Lane's Company. In 1756 he was at Albany in the company of Captain Samuel Flint of Danvers. From April 2, 1759 to January 26, 1760, he was at Fort Cumberland, in Captain William Angier's Company, Colonel Joseph Frye's Regiment, serving as a Corporal. He was a Sergeant in Captain Moses Parker's Company from May 9, 1761 to January 2, 1762, and from March 12, to November 25, 1762, he held the same rank in Captain Moses Hart's Company. In January, 1766 he became Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Johnson's Company, Colonel Benjamin Pickman's First Essex County Regiment. He was Captain in the same regiment, under Colonel William Browne, in August, 1771. He took an early interest in the struggle for liberty, and was appointed a member of the Committee of Correspondence, January 6, 1772. He was a member of the Essex County Convention, held at Ipswich, September 7, 1774. He was one of the two representatives from Lynn at the First Provincial Congress, held at Salem, October 7, 1774, and was a member of a committee of that body "to prepare from the best authentic evidence which can be procured, a true state of the number of inhabitants, and of exports and imports, of goods . . . manufactures of all kinds" etc. "to be used by our delegates at the Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia" in May. He represented Lynn in the Second Provincial



Congress, February 1, 1775. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Lieut. Colonel of Colonel Timothy Pickering's First Essex County Regiment. May 1, 1775, Colonel Timothy Pickering Jun. in a letter to the Committee of Safety, recommended that he be appointed Colonel of a regiment "to be raised in Salem and vicinity." He was engaged May 3, 1775, and a full account of his subsequent service has been given in the historical section of this article. The following account of his life, after his dismissal from the army, quoted from Howard K. Sandersen's "Lynn in the Revolution", shows how highly he was regarded by his fellow-townsmen:

"He returned to Lynn, bowed down by the sentence, and feeling that he had been used unfairly. The townspeople evidently did not believe the stories of cowardice which had been advanced, for they proceeded to honor him in every possible way. In March, 1776, he was chosen a member of the Committee of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, which important position he filled in 1778, 1780, 1781, 1782 and 1783 until the treaty of peace. He served as moderator of the town meetings during almost the entire period of war, and was active in raising various quotas of men sent into the Continental Army. He attended to the providing of the families of the soldiers away in the army, and in many other ways he exhibited his devotion to the patriot cause. In 1785 he was elected town treasurer but declined to serve. His last public appearance was on the 14th of May, 1792, when at the age of seventy-one, he acted as moderator of the town meeting. Colonel Mansfield was a courtly gentleman of the old school, tall and dignified in appearance, and with a gait and manner so noticeable as to be called the 'Mansfield swing'. . . . The last days of the old colonel were spent quietly in the midst of his large family, but during the remainder of his long life he felt severely the disgrace of his dismissal from the army, even though popular sentiment had ascribed his course to error of judgment only." "Swett, the historian of Bunker Hill, says plainly that this was a fact, and with such authority bearing upon his conduct we may well give to him the just respect which his long life of public service commands. The death of Colonel Mansfield occurred April 24, 1809, at the age of 88 years." (89 years, Lynn Vital Records.)

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ISRAEL HUTCHINSON of Danvers was the son of Elisha and Ginger (Porter) Hutchinson. He was baptized in Salem (later Danvers) November 12, 1727. His occupation was that of house wright, and was so given in records of his enlistment at the age of '28', April 28, 1757, as a Sergeant in Captain Israel Kellog's Company of "rangers to scout upon the Eastern Frontier." He served until October 6th of that year. From March 13 to August 7, 1758, he was a Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Fuller's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regi-

ment. From May 6th to November 28, 1759, he was Captain of a company "up the St. Lawrence River." On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he commanded a company of Minute Men, which marched from Danvers. May 3, 1775, he was engaged as Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served under that officer until Colonel Mansfield's dismissal, when he became commander of the regiment without increase of rank. During 1776 he was Colonel of the 27th Regiment of the Continental Army. He was stationed with his men at Fort Hill in Boston after the evacuation by the British. He remained there and on Dorchester Heights until October of that year when he was sent to New York with his command, but as small-pox broke out on his vessel, his men were not allowed to land. Later he commanded Fort Lee and Fort Washington. He crossed the Delaware with Washington and was with him in the retreat through New Jersey, and for his service received the approbation of his Commander-in-Chief. His orderly book from August 13, 1775 to July 8, 1776 has been published in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 1878 pp. 337-364. Upon his return home in 1777 he was chosen to serve as representative to the Legislature, which office, together with that of councillor, he filled twenty-one years. In 1778 he was superintendent of recruits from Essex County and in 1780 served as Muster Master for Essex County to serve during the absence of Colonel Wade. He died March 16, 1811, aged 84 years, leaving thirteen children, one hundred and eighteen grand children, and seven great grand children. "He was a brave soldier and an ardent lover of his country." A granite monument has been erected near the site of his home in Danversport.

MAJOR EZRA PUTNAM of Middleton, was the son of Ensign Ezra and Elizabeth (Fuller) Putnam. He was born in Salem Village (now Danvers Highlands) and was baptized there June 8, 1729. From September 5th to October 30, 1755 he was Sergeant in Captain Samuel Flint's Company, Colonel Plaisted's Regiment on a Crown Point expedition. From October 31st to the end of the year he was Ensign in the same company, and regiment. From January 1st to July 21, 1760 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Gerrish's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Asa Prince's Company. May 3, 1775 he was engaged as Major in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Major in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment in the Continental Army. After the Revolutionary War he settled on the old farm, but in 1789 he and his wife joined

his sons Ezra, David and John in Ohio. He was short but not of heavy build. He died in Marietta, Ohio, March 19, 1811.

ADJUTANT TARRANT PUTNAM of Danvers was the son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Putnam) Putnam. He was born in Salem (later Danvers) February 8, 1743-4. He graduated from Harvard College in 1763. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he served as Ensign in Captain Edward Putnam's Alarm Company of Danvers. May 4, 1775 he was engaged as Adjutant in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served through the year, under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. In a communication to General Washington, November 1, 1775 he was recommended to receive a warrant as Adjutant. January 1, 1776 he became Second Lieutenant and Adjutant in Colonel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment in the Continental Army. In the "Putnam Lineage" it is stated that "he was a bright progressive man, popular and fearless". He died in 1776, letters of administration being granted to his widow on the 6th of May of that year.

QUARTERMASTER SAMUEL GOODRIDGE of Beverly (also given Danvers) was the son of Samuel and Lydia Goodridge. He was born about 1750. He was clerk of the Committee of Correspondence in Beverly in 1773-4, and a representative of Beverly at the Essex County Convention at Ipswich, September 6 and 7, 1794. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Corporal in Captain Israel Hutchinson's Company of Minute Men. May 20, 1775 he was engaged as Quartermaster in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. April 2, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Page's 7th (Danvers) Company in Colonel Henry Herrick's 8th Essex County Regiment of Militia. September 30, 1776 his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain John Poole's Company, Colonel Jonathan Cogswell, Junior's 3rd Essex County Regiment. February 3, 1777 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Page's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Francis's 11th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. October 23, 1779, he was commissioned First Lieutenant and his name appears in a list of officers detached from the Militia to command men raised to reinforce the Continental Army. He died in Beverly, according to the First Parish Church Records, March 29, 1820, aged 70 years.

SURGEON EDWARD DURANT of Holliston or Newton was the son of Edward, Junior and Anne (Jackson) Durant. He was born in Newton, March 31, 1735. From February 28th to December 5, 1760 he served as Surgeon's Mate in Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles's Regi-

ment, and was reported omitted in the roll of January 22, 1761. August 6, 1761 he received three months' advance pay as Surgeon's Mate in Colonel Jonathan Hoar's Regiment. May 3, 1775 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson through the year. In a certificate dated "Continental Hospital, January 24, 1776" Doctor John Warren, Surgeon of that Hospital, stated that said Durant had served as Surgeon's Mate in said Hospital, "the chief of the last campaign and part of the present", recommending him for further employment in the Continental Army on account of his faithfulness and ability. April 10, 1776 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel Josiah Whitney's Additional Regiment, and probably served in that Regiment through 1776. In Jackson's "History of Newton", the statement is made that "he went privateering, during the Revolutionary War, and was never heard of afterward."

SURGEON'S MATE NATHANIEL (also given THOMAS) OLIVER of Danvers was in all probability the "Nathaniel Oliver, Physician", son of William and Rebecca (Sale) Oliver of Chelsea. The above Doctor Oliver is mentioned by Chamberlain in his "History of Chelsea", Volume II, p. 76, as having resided in Danvers and Marblehead. He was engaged May 4, 1775 as Surgeon's Mate in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and his name appears in a list of Surgeons and Surgeon's Mates made and examined and approved by a committee appointed for that purpose, July 7, 1775. He served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson, and during 1776 was Surgeon's Mate in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAKER of Beverly was probably the son of John and Anna (Bradstreet) Baker, born in Topsfield, August 19, 1755. He was a yeoman and lived in Beverly and Wenham. His name appears as Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 19th Regiment in an undated list made probably in October, 1775. He served as Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army, during 1776. In the Salem Gazette of May 1, 1830, the following obituary notice appears: "In Beverly, N. Parish, Mr. John Baker, aged 75, a soldier of the Revolution and a pensioner."

CAPTAIN THOMAS BARNES of Salem was commissioned in that rank in Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment, May 27, 1775, and served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel John Nixon's 4th Regi-

ment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and on the 6th of March 1779 was promoted to Major and four days later transferred to Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Carleton's 12th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. The statement is made in the Historical Register of the Continental Army that he was cashiered January 2, 1780, but if this were true he was evidently reinstated in the army for "Major Thomas Barnes" was a Revolutionary pensioner at the time of his death in Herbert Street, Salem, March 24, 1821, at the age of 69 years.

CAPTAIN NATHAN BROWN of Salem, son of Nathan and Rebecca (Morss) Brown, was born in Newbury, October 30, 1742, "enlisted" May 19, 1775 in that rank in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army. He received his commission as Captain eight days later. He served through the year under Colonel Mansfield and Lieutenant Colonel Hutchinson. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Israel Hutchinson's 27th Regiment, Continental Army. Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Continental Army" stated that he "served subsequently as Major in the Massachusetts Militia". He was commissioned commander of the Privateer Brigantine "Pluto", May 12, 1777. February 6, 1778 he was commissioned commander of the Brigantine "Montgomery" and in July 1779 commanded the Privateer Ship "Hunter" in the expedition against Penobscot. In a descriptive list dated January 1, 1780, "age 37 years, stature 5 feet 8 inches, complexion dark, residence Salem", his name appears as Captain of the Privateer Ship "Jack". He died in Salem in 1787. (His will dated November 13, 1783 was proved October 1, 1787.)

CAPTAIN GIDEON FOSTER of Danvers was the son of Gideon and Lydia (Goldthwaite) Foster. He was born February 13, 1748-9 in a house which stood on the Western corner of Foster and Lowell streets in what is now Peabody Square. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Epes's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Timothy Pickering's Regiment. May 3, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army, and he served in that regiment at least until October 1st, and probably through the year. May 3, 1778 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Larkin Thorndike's 8th Essex County Militia Regiment. He served the town of Danvers as Town Clerk four years. In 1792 he was promoted to the rank of Colonel in the militia and he became Brigadier General in 1796 and Major General in 1801. He died Saturday, November 1, 1845, and was buried with military honors, the escort consisting of the Salem Artillery, the Danvers Light Infantry and the Lynn Rifle Corps. He was a man of "great energy, enterprise and industry."

CAPTAIN EBENEZER FRANCIS of Beverly was the son of Ebenezer and Rachel (Tufts) Francis, and was born in Medford, December 22, 1743. He lived in Medford until he became of age, when he removed to Beverly. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Israel Hutchinson's Company of Minute Men. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel John Mansfield's 7th Regiment, Provincial Army. July 28, 1776 he was commissioned Colonel of a regiment organized for the defense of Boston and was stationed at Dorchester Heights. January 1, 1777 he became Colonel of the 11th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and marched to Ticonderoga. On Monday, July 7, 1777, he was killed at Hubbarton, near Whitehall, N. Y. In the journal of Captain Greenleaf, which volume is now preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, we read:

"Colonel Francis first received a ball through his right arm; but still continued at the head of his troops until he received the fatal wound through his body, entering his right breast. He dropped on his face." His Chaplain wrote: "No officer so modest in his military accomplishments and regular life as he. His conduct in the field is spoken of in the highest terms of applause". A very interesting account of the meeting of some of the British officers of Burgoyne's Army, who were quartered near Medford as prisoners, and the widowed mother of Colonel Francis is narrated in Usher's "History of Medford", pages 179 and 180. Several of the officers told the deeply bereaved woman that they had seen her son after he was dead, and one of them, Captain Ferguson, restored to her Colonel Francis's watch which he had purchased of a drum-boy. Her profound gratitude and great grief deeply impressed them all.

To be Continued.

REMINISCENCES OF FOUR-SCORE YEARS

BY JUDGE FRANCIS M. THOMPSON OF GREENFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS

INCLUDING HIS NARRATIVE OF THREE YEARS IN THE NEW WEST, DURING WHICH
HE TOOK IN 1862 A 3000-MILE TRIP FROM ST. LOUIS UP THE MISSOURI, AND
THENCE DOWN THE SNAKE AND COLUMBIA RIVERS TO PORTLAND, AND TO
SAN FRANCISCO, RETURNING IN 1863.

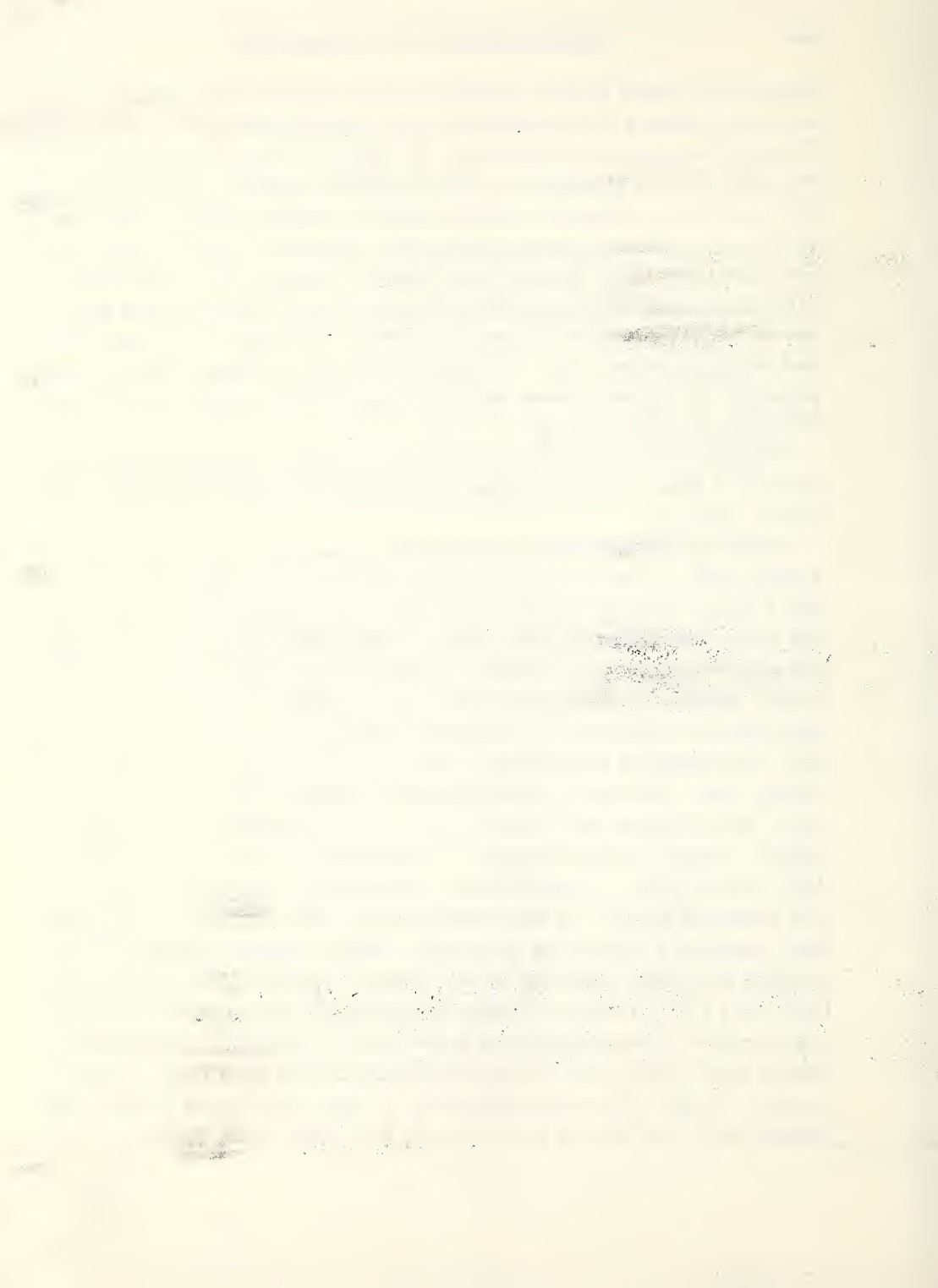
(Continued from No. 3, Vol. VI)

his own preservation compelled him to commit the deeds which gave him a bad name. The Indian scare calmed down when the snows came, and Plummer and Cleveland, his chum, went to the new mines on Grass-hopper. From being friends the two became enemies, and Plummer let fall some expression which indicated that he was fearful that Cleveland in his oft repeated drinking bouts, would disclose some secret concerning him, and during a melee in Goodrich's saloon in Bannack, Plummer shot Cleveland, inflicting wounds from which he died soon after. When Cleveland lay wounded upon the floor of the saloon, Hank Crawford and Harry Phleger, two good men, took him to Crawford's cabin and cared for him until he died and saw his body decently buried. Plummer anxiously inquired of Crawford what Cleveland, as he lay wounded, said of him. Crawford repeatedly told him, "Nothing." Plummer answered, "'Tis well he did not, for if he had I would kill him in his bed." In answer to Crawford's inquiries Cleveland only said, "Poor Jack has got no friends; he has got it (his death wounds) and I guess he can stand it." In answer to Phleger's questions as to their differences, he said, "It makes no difference to you," and died with the secret, if secret there was. For the

present the miners did not trouble themselves about the shooting, so long as it was confined to the members of the gambling fraternity. For weeks Plummer sought every opportunity to engage Crawford in a fight so that he might have a shadow of an excuse for his murder. At last some of his friends saw Plummer standing behind a wagon resting a rifle across its wheel, evidently waiting for Crawford's appearance from his cabin across the street, and fairly driven by his friends to improve the opportunity to save his own life by taking that of his persecutor, Crawford from the corner of his cabin shot at Plummer, the bullet entering at his right elbow and stopping at the wrist. Crawford fled to Fort Benton where he was protected by Major Dawson until he was enabled to make his way down the Missouri, in the spring.

When the true character of the man, Plummer, became known to the Vails and Miss Bryan, she was implored not to unite her destiny with such a character.

It was at this time that I reached the farm upon my return from the Pacific coast. Sun river, upon my arrival was not in condition to be forded and hailing from the opposite bank Mr. Vail recognized me, and returning to the fort announced my arrival. Immediately Miss Bryan informed her sister that she would follow my advice in the matter of her marriage to Mr. Plummer. In a day or two I was enabled to cross the river and was warmly welcomed by my friends. Hardly an hour had elapsed before Mrs. Vail besought me to plead with her sister to give up her infatuation for her lover. She was a most devoted Christian woman, and loved her sister most tenderly and felt that she was responsible for her future, as would a mother for her daughter. I calmed her as best I could and soon Miss Bryan sought an opportunity to rehearse her love for her persecuted and maligned lover. To her unsophisticated soul, he was a pure, good man, persecuted beyond all endurance, and the fatalities which had surrounded him were such that in no instance was he to be blamed. The little blind god had taken complete possession of her soul. She said that she loved Mr. Plummer, that she knew that he loved her, that she had the utmost faith in him, that the terrible stories of him were told by men not worthy of belief; that she could never be happy unless she married him. I asked her if she did not know that he had killed Jack Cleveland whom



she knew, and that even if the taking of his life was for just cause or not, whether she did not also know that in this country it was generally the case that a man who had killed another, died a like death? Whether she could afford to rush into such trouble which could well be avoided. I counselled her not to rashly make a change which was of so much importance in her life, and urged the distress of her sister and her other friends, and advised her to await the arrival of the boats and then go home to the states and in the fall if she and Mr. Plummer remained of the same mind, he could then go and meet her. After a long time she gave her assent to the plan I had suggested and made some preparation for her journey. Her sister seemed much relieved at her decision. But a few days elapsed when Mr. Plummer made his appearance at the farm, to fulfil his promise to marry Miss Bryan. Rev. Mr. Reed, the Indian agent and the Vails' pastor at their Iowa home, was hourly expected.

I had never before met Plummer. I knew that he had won the affection of my young friend Swift, during his stay at the farm, and when I saw him I could but wonder if this could be the young desperado whom people so much feared. He was about five feet ten inches in height, weighed perhaps one hundred and fifty pounds, and was, as Langford well says, "In demeanor quiet and modest, free from swagger and bluster, dignified and graceful. He was intelligent and brilliant in conversation, a good judge of men, and his manners were those of a polished gentleman." He seemed devoted to Miss Bryan, and I could not much wonder at her happiness when all my well intended advice was thrown to the wind and it was announced that the marriage would take place upon the arrival of Mr. Reed.

From June 2nd to the 20th we all awaited the arrival of the boats which would bring Mr. Reed. Finally all hope of seeing the Methodist Elder was given up, and, as I have already written, Father Minatre from St. Peter's Catholic Mission was called in and the marriage was duly celebrated.

CHAPTER V

THE VIGILANTES AND THE ROAD AGENTS.

I have already written that about the last of August, 1863, I innocently piloted into Bannack a considerable party of road agents. While on our journey I learned that the men were named Doctor Howard, Chris. Lowry, James Romaine, Robert Zachery, William Page, Erastus Yager, (called "Red"), John Wagner and Steve Marshland. They treated me with much consideration, not allowing me to furnish any supplies, but Dr. Howard, who seemed to be the leader of the party and claimed to be a graduate of the Yale Medical school, was very inquisitive in relation to my affairs. I frankly informed him that I had an assorted stock of goods on the way from Milk river, and that I did not have any money to pay the freight bills, and would not be in funds until I realized from the goods. He claimed to be well acquainted with Mr. Plummer of whom he spoke in the highest terms, and claimed that he was an honorable man, and that his shootings had always been in self defence. His defence of Plummer gave me much pleasure, which was abruptly ended when Plummer himself told me, "They speak well of me for they don't dare do otherwise." I supposed that this referred to his office of sheriff and thought no more of it. When he told me that there were likely to be rough times ahead, he warned me never to open my store doors after retiring, (for I slept in my store) without first finding out who desired admittance. He also assisted in piling up in front of my bunks packages of goods as a barricade, and in arranging a port hole through them to be convenient in case of attack. The Vails having taken up their residence at Bannack, they pressed me to make my home with them, and Mr. Swift and I consented to take our meals with them. Mr. and Mrs. Plummer also boarded there. Mrs. Plummer told me that Mr. Plummer was away from home so much attending to his duties as sheriff, that she with his consent had concluded to go to her home in Iowa, and he was to meet her there in the fall. The second day after my arrival she took the overland stage for Salt Lake on

her way east. While on our way from Deer Lodge with Dr. Howard and party we overtook the extensive pack train of Lloyd Magruder, a wealthy trader from Elk City, Idaho; who was taking his goods for sale to Bannack City. At the crossing of the Big Hole river he heard of the wonderful discoveries at Alder gulch, and decided to go with the crowd to the new mines. My late comrade only made a short stop in Bannack and went into Virginia City with the Magruder train. There he took a store and for six weeks was busily engaged in disposing of his stock of goods. Dr. Howard, Lowry, Romaine and Page assisted him in making sales, and made the store their headquarters and knew as well as did Magruder, of his accumulation of gold dust, greenbacks, and coin. He had a train of seventy good mules with their necessary outfit, and when he had sold out his goods had in his possession about twenty-four thousand dollars. When Magruder was ready to return to Elk City he engaged the quartette to assist him on his western journey. Besides Howard and his men, Charley Allen, who had been successful in mining operations, the brothers Horace and Robert Chalmers, who were new comers to the mountains, and William Phillips, an old mountain man, accompanied the Magruder train for companionship on their journey west.

For some reason known only to himself, perhaps a touch of pity, Romaine tried to persuade Phillips not to make the trip. Not until well on their way did Dr. Howard make known to Lowry and Romaine the whole of his murderous scheme, but they needed little persuasion to become partners in the crime. Meeting Bob Zachery in Bannack, Dr. Howard broached the matter to him, but as the murder of the five men was intended he refused to join the expedition. Crossing the Bitter Root valley, one October night the train wound its way near the summit of a pass through the mountains, a hundred miles away from any white settlement. The air was cold and the keen wind was the excuse for a bright fire when camp was made. When the pack animals were relieved from their burdens, and Page came to drive them away from the camp, Dr. Howard hissed to him, "Drive the animals a half mile from camp and don't come back 'till supper time, for we are going to kill Magruder and his four friends, and if you value your life don't you breathe a word to any living being." Lowry killed Magruder with an axe as he was stooping toward

the fire to take a coal in his pipe. It is unnecessary to detail the horrid particulars of the awful tragedy then and there enacted; suffice it to say that the heartless wretches completed with axe, pistol and knife the murders they had planned. When the infamous Romaine came to Phillips as he lay in his blanket, he said as he stabbed him, "I have to kill you, you old fool; I told you at Virginia city not to come." Page who had no hand in the actual murders, was found wrapped up in his blanket and was ordered by Howard to assist in concealing the evidences of the great crime. Reserving for their own use the few personal belongings of their victims, they burned the rest and cast the remains of the saddles and indestructable property over a bluff into a deep canyon, together with the bodies of the five murdered men, hoping that wild beasts would soon make them beyond recognition. The murderers attempted to ride away and leave the animals with the exception of seven horses and one mule reserved for their own use, but the herd persisted in following the old bell mare, and they finally drove them into the canyon and shot them.

Having as they thought concealed all traces of their awful deed, and being short of provisions, the robbers hastened toward Lewiston, and leaving their horses at a ranch outside the town, one of the party purchased tickets to Walla Walla. Hill Beachy, the stage agent at Lewiston recognized Dr. Howard, Lowry, and Romaine, as three of the roughs whom he had assisted in running out of Idaho a few months before. He at once suspected that his friend Magruder had been murdered, and a boy who was then in his employ, but who had formerly been with Magruder, recognized a saddle left with the horses at the ranch, as one which was owned by Magruder.

Another person was sure that one of the horses was the same that Magruder had when he left for Beaverhed. Hill Beachy determined to follow and arrest the men whom he believed had murdered his friends. One Tom Farrell volunteered to keep him company. When they arrived at Walla Walla they learned that their quarry had left for Portland four days previously. At Portland they found that the robbers had sailed for San Francisco the day before. Beachy pushed on overland to Yreka where he was able to telegraph to the authorities at 'Frisco asking for the arrest of the murderers, and the next day at Shasta received word that the

whole party were safely in prison. For four weeks Beachy fought for the extradition of his malefactors to Idaho, and having plenty of money Dr. Howard exhausted every means to prevent his success. At last Beachy had his prisoners on board the steamer bound for Portland, and upon their arrival at that place, Gen. Wright then in command, detailed a military escort to guard them to Lewiston. A great concourse of people met them at the wharf at that place, and shouts went up, "Hang 'em! Hang 'em! string 'em up!" but protected by the military, Beachy succeeded in getting his prisoners to the hotel.

He soon after appeared on the balcony and announced to the people that one of the conditions upon which the California authorities surrendered the prisoners to him was, that they should have a fair trial under the law of Idaho. He asked that all who would uphold his pledged word, should stand upon the other side of the street, and they all passed over to the side of law and order. After many delays a trial was had; Page was allowed to turn state's evidence, and Dr. Howard, Lowry and Romaine were found guilty of murder, and sentenced to be hung on the 4th day of March, 1864. A gallows was erected in a circular valley near the town and on the fatal day, in presence of a great crowd, including the most of the Nez Pierce Indians, the three murderers met their just doom.

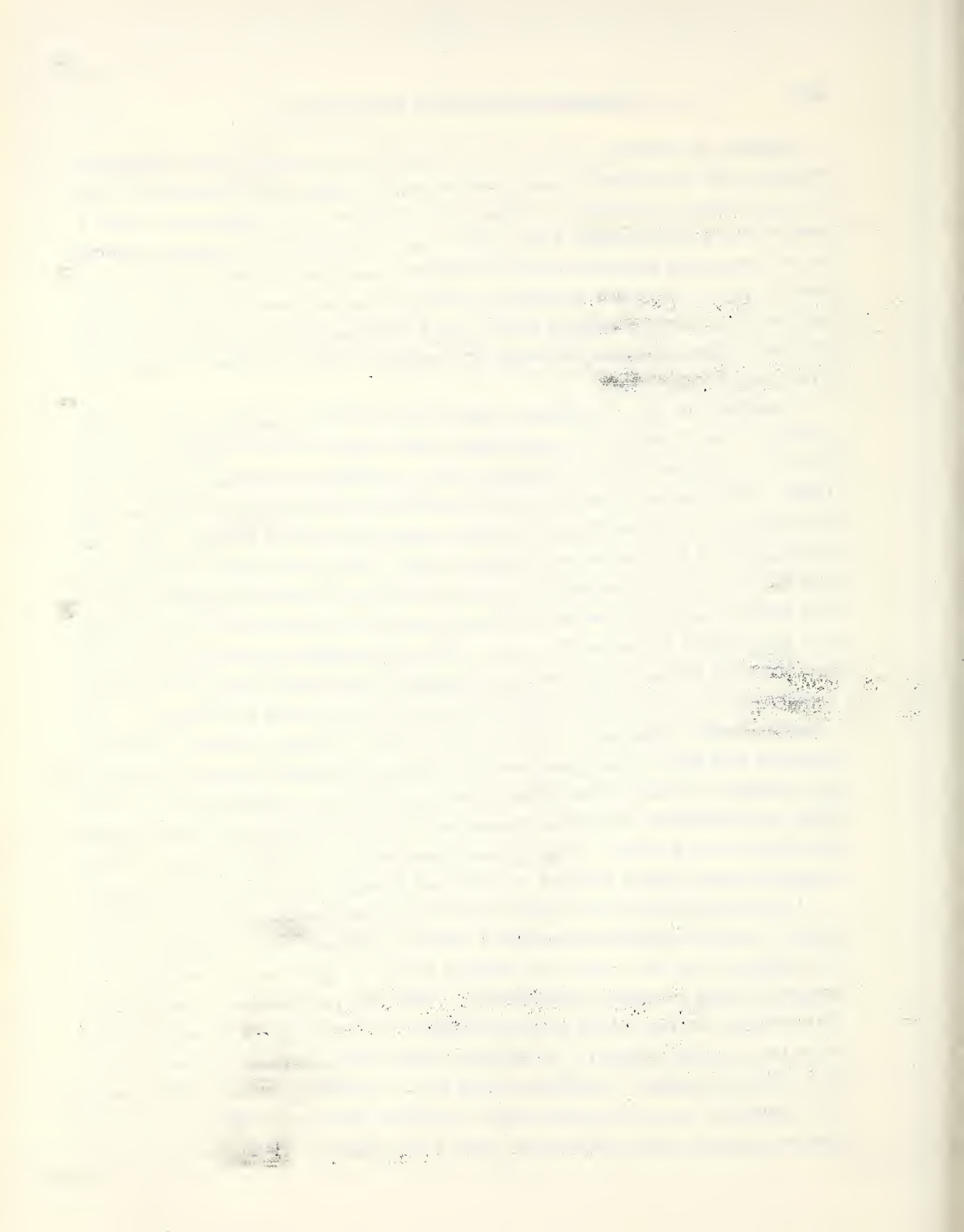
A few weeks after Hill Beachy had witnessed the culmination of his efforts for justice, he and a few of Magruder's friends taking with them Page as guide, visited the place of the massacre, and tenderly gathering up the remains of the murdered men they returned with them to Lewiston where they were decently interred. Page remained for a season in Beachy's employ, shunned and detested by the people, but within a year was killed in a drunken row. Thus ended the lives of four of that pleasant party with whom a few months before I journeyed from Deer Lodge to Bannack.

Beachy received from the United States mint seventeen thousand dollars, the value of the gold deposited by the robbers for coinage, and turned it over to Mrs. Magruder. After some years the Idaho legislature made an appropriation for the payment of the expense attending the capture and conviction of the murderers. Mr. Beachy died in San Francisco in 1875, leaving many loyal friends.

Beachy, in relating to Gov. N. P. Langford the story of the Magruder murder and its avenging, said that when he made up his mind to bring the murderers to justice, "I then felt that the time had come when I needed more than human help, and I went out to the barn and got down on my knees and prayed to the Old Father—and that's something I haven't been much in the habit of doing in this hard country—and I prayed for a half an hour; and I prayed hard; and I promised that if He'd only help me catch these villians, I'd never ask another favor of Him as long as I lived! *and I never have!*"

Langford in his "Vigilante Days and Ways," a work of great merit giving a true history of organization and work of the "Vigilance Committee" says that Lloyd Magruder was a wealthy merchant of Elk city, Idaho, and that he fitted out his Beaverhead pack train at Lewiston and boarded at the "Luna House" which was kept by Hill Beachy, who was also agent of the stage and express line. They were boon companions and the day before Magruder set out with his rich stock of goods, Beachy had told his wife that he had dreamed that he had seen Chris Lowry dash out Magruder's brains with an axe. His wife wished to tell Magruder, but her husband forbade her; but so impressed was Beachy that he felt great relief when he learned that his friend had safely arrived at Bannack. The next day after Magruder left Lewiston, Dr. Howard, Lowry, Romaine, Zachery and some other gamblers left that place bound, as they announced, for Oregon, but after travelling about 50 miles in a direction that would allay any suspicion, they then turned and followed Magruder's trail toward the Beaver head mines. Page joined them later on in their journey. These were the men I found camped on the Deer Lodge and piloted into Bannack.

In the marvelously rich placer mines at Alder gulch, many experienced miners soon accumulated sufficient means to satisfy their longings either by taking from the earth the shining scales of gold, or by selling their ground rights to greedy purchasers. With the prospect of a long winter before them during which enforced idleness must be the rule, many longed to return to the states, or to return to their old stamping grounds where the winter expenses would be much less. Inquiries in later days, made by friends of men who had been traced to these new mines, and were known to have been there, but who had suddenly disappeared, made it



evident that many fell victims to the road agents who had established themselves along the route which travellers were compelled to take. Fear of robbery had become so great that persons who had determined to leave the country often secretly left without informing their nearest friends. At the head of a dry gulch between Bannack and Horse Prairie I discovered the remains of burned clothing, the jaws of a carpet sack, buttons and other debris which convinced me that a murder had been committed near that place.

Henry Plummer had been elected by miner's meetings sheriff of all the different mining camps, many being convinced that his killings had been done in self defence, and all knowing that he had qualities which peculiarly fitted him for the duties of the office. He resided in Bannack and named deputies in the different mining camps. The men selected as **deputies** were acquiesced in rather than approved, but consideration was had that good law abiding citizens were scarce who would take their chances with the desperadoes and gamblers with whom they would be compelled to deal. Plummer's office was sufficient excuse for his frequent absence from Bannack, but after a few months the feeling grew, but could not be safely expressed, that our sheriff knew more concerning the frequent hold-ups and robberies than he saw fit to confide to those he called his friends. He was somewhat hampered by the presence and anxious inquiries of his loving wife, and she was sent to her old home in Iowa. After her departure robberies became more and more frequent. Being my fellow boarder at Mrs. Vail's, I knew of all his absences and noticed, as my suspicions arose, that all the big hold-ups and robberies happened when he was away from home. I recalled his warning when I told him of Dr. Howard's arrival, and with what certainty he spoke of the future operations of the roughs. I became certain that he knew of the plans of the road agents before they were carried into execution. He was also the acknowledged owner of the Rattlesnake ranch located about fifteen **miles** from Bannack, which harbored a notorious lot of scoundrels. I could not breathe a word of my suspicions to my clerk and fellow boarder, young Swift, who loved Plummer like a brother, and indeed he was a loveable man.

At last the climax came, and as usual, in an unexpected manner. Judge

Edgerton and his nephew Wilbur F Sanders had become my intimate friends. I was almost daily at the Edgertons and he as frequently at my den. One of the last days of October the stage coach from Virginia city came into Bannack with the story of its having been robbed a few miles out of Bannack. Among those relieved by the road agents was Frank R. Madison (a member of our company), Dan McFarden (known as "Bummer Dan"), Percy and Wilkinson. "Dan" had just sold out his claim and had \$2,000 in a belt upon his rotund person. Bill Bunto the stage agent at Plummer's ranch had detained the coach over night, his excuse being that he could not find the change of horses. In the morning he took his seat on the coach with the driver and when the road agents covered the passengers with double barrelled shot guns and shouted "Hold up your hands" he went through that ceremony with the others, and cursed his luck with the stoutest.

There was much excitement when the robbery was noised about in Bannack and Judge Edgerton being in my store when no one but us was present, I turned the key in the door and asked, "Judge, who is doing all this business?" He waited a moment, looked around the room, and said, "I think I know!" I exclaimed, "HENRY PLUMMER-" We then compared notes. He told me of the robbery of his ward Henry Tilden a young man living in his family. I knew of the robbery but not that Tilden had recognized Plummer as one of the robbers. A cow belonging to the judge had strayed and Tilden in his search for her had ridden to Horse Prairie ranch located about twelve miles out on the Salt Lake road. Returning toward Bannack soon after dusk he was held up by three highwaymen who ordered him to dismount and throw up his hands. Look-down the muzzles of three revolvers he found not pleasant and quickly obeyed the command given him. Finding only a dollar or two on his person, the robbers cursed him roundly and in their gentle manner told him that if they ever caught him in that condition again they would blow the top of his head off. They then permitted him to mount and Tilden rode toward Bannack with such reckless speed that his horse fell into a prospect hole, and his screams brought him help.

Reaching home he excitedly declared that he had been robbed "and I know one of the robbers! It was Henry Plummer!" Immediately the

Judge cautioned him and all the household never to tell of Tilden's suspicions as it might cost them their lives. The effect of Crawford's bullet in his arm had caused Plummer to draw his pistol in a peculiar manner, and Tilden had recognized him, although they were all masked. Mr. Sanders was called in and Tilden told his story in full, and no doubt was left in the minds of these men but that Plummer was the leader of the gang.

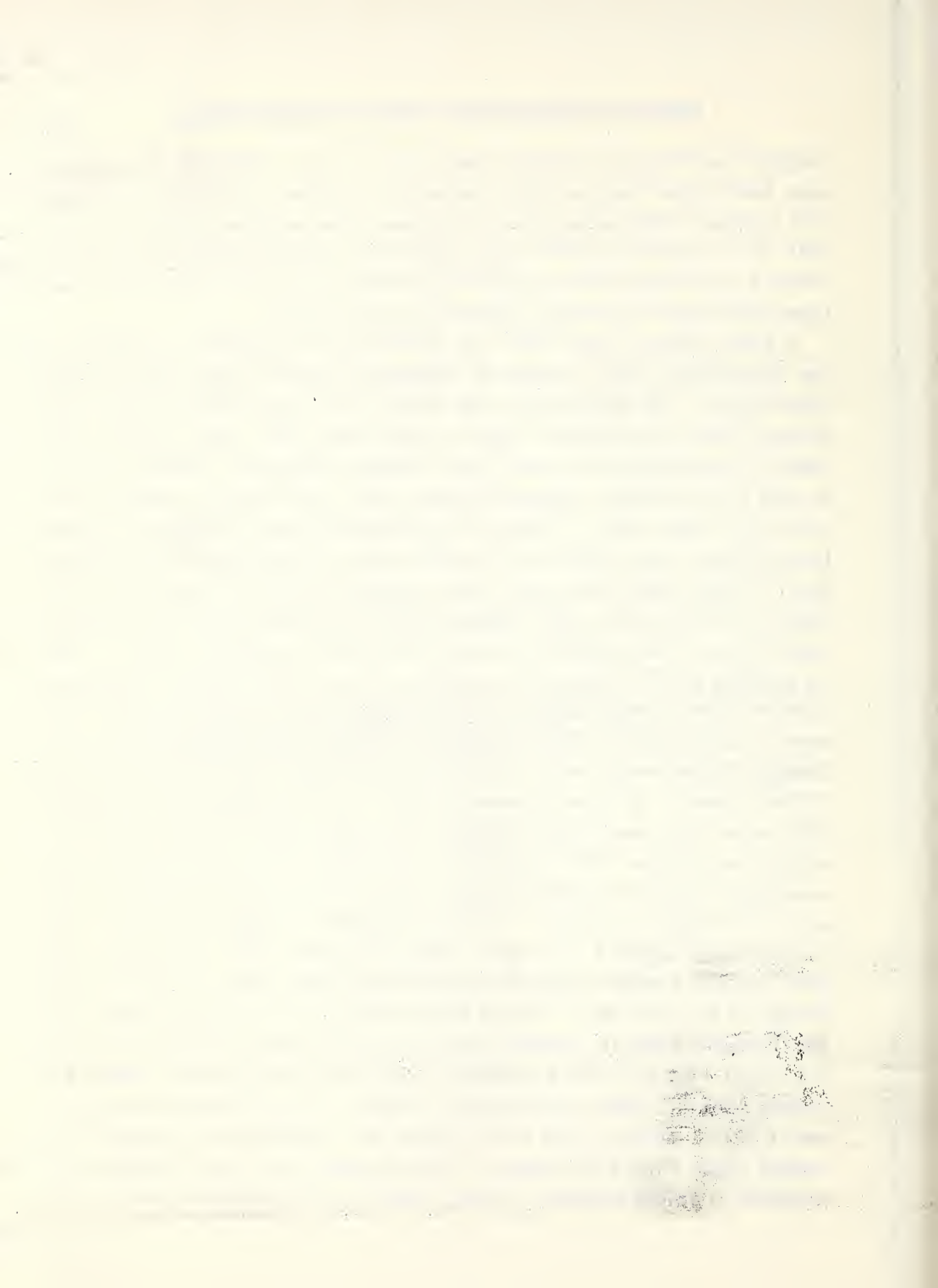
The presence of the robbers at that place at that time is accounted for by another story. My friends, Nathaniel P. Langford from St. Paul and Samuel T. Hauser¹⁵ from St. Louis (a fellow passenger on the Emilie), two as brave men as ever served Montana, had determined to visit the states. Langford was a man peculiarly obnoxious to gamblers and men of that ilk, and had been shot at by one Ed French at Virginia city the day before that fixed for his departure. The bullet slightly abraded one eye, which had from riding in the alkali dust become so much inflamed by the time he reached Bannack, that he was detained there several days. His companion was to come to Bannack as soon as Langford had completed arrangements for their journey to Salt Lake. They had agreed to take to St. Louis for Dance & Stuart, merchants at Virginia city, \$14,000 in gold dust. Club-foot George was a clerk in Dance & Stuart's employ, and what *he* knew the road agent gang knew. Langford, at Bannack completed arrangements with eight Salt Lake freighters traveling together and they set Nov. 14th at noon as the time to leave Bannack. When Hauser left Virginia city with his gold he found as his fellow passenger in the coach, Sheriff Plummer. The trip over the intervening seventy-five miles was a very pleasant one, and as usual when the stage arrived at Bannack the citizens gathered at Goodrich's to get the news and welcome any friend who might be a passenger. Judge Edgerton, myself and others were present when Hauser undid from his blankets the buckskin bag of gold and handing it to the sheriff, said, "Plummer, I hear that any man who has money isn't safe in this town, over-night. I've got fourteen thousand dollars in that bag which I'm goin to take to the states with me when I go, and I want you as sheriff to keep it for me 'till I start!" Plummer said, "That's all right, I'll take the gold and return it to you," a promise which he faithfully performed. He kept the money in George Chrisman's store

over night. The Mormon train agreed to wait at Horse Prairie for Langford and Hauser until five o'clock P. M. and then push on if they did not appear. Before noon a rumor arose in Bannack that rich silver veins had been discovered near the Rattlesnake (in the opposite direction from Horse Prairie) and among other men riding in that direction were Buck Stinson, Ned Ray and George Ives, who said that Plummer had been seen going that way and that he was the only person who knew the location of the discovery. Even so keen an observer as W. F. Sanders tried to find the trail of Plummer and spent the night at Rattlesnake ranch in the vain hope that Plummer would come there before he returned to Bannack. It was afterward proved that Plummer, Stinson, Ray and Ives crossed the Grasshopper above Bannack, and riding toward Horse Prairie were concealed by the roadside awaiting the arrival of Langford and Hauser when Tilden met with his experiences. While riding from Virginia city Plummer had presented to Hauser a large red woolen scarf, remarking that it would be a nice thing to have these cold days and nights on his long journey; probably with thought that it might serve to identify the man who had charge of the bag of gold. After the little comedy with Tilden, thinking that Langford and his comrade had passed before their arrival, the quartette made a diversion around the Horse Prairie station and came out on the Salt Lake road beyond the camping place of the Mormon train.

It happened that Langford and Hauser did not leave Bannack until seven in the evening and thus escaped meeting the party who intended to welcome them on the heights between Bannack and Horse Prairie. At night, the wagons being overcrowded, Langford took a buffalo robe and lay down under a wagon. Awaking before daylight and thinking he would get no more sleep, he took his rifle and went down to the creek to gather sticks to lay a fire. Wandering some distance below the camp, he thought he heard voices, and listening, his suspicions were confirmed, and creeping through the brush he caught sight of three masked men. A slight noise aroused the suspicions of the trio, or for some other reason they disappeared down a bank. Brave man as he was, his first impulse was to alarm his companions, but the first flurry over, he determined to examine farther. Creeping to the bank he discovered four men, one of whom was

holding four horses, in a former bed of the stream. Evidently the masked men feared that they had been discovered, for after a whispered conversation they led their horses away, and were seen no more. The train and with it our friends and the bag of gold all reached Salt Lake in safety. When a few months later, Langford and Hauser returned to the mountains, there had ceased to be any danger from road agents.

I have already stated that Mr. Sanders was compelled to remain at the Rattlesnake ranch (owned by Plummer) after his vain search for the silver mine. Bill Bunton was the chief at the ranch and his aids were Frank Parish and Erastus Yager, or the man "Red" who was the cook when he accompanied me from Deer Lodge to Bannack. Parish, who was at this time keeping a Bannack squaw, was very sick and seemed likely not to live many days. When at last Sanders found Plummer he denied that he knew of any discovery of a silver mine, but said that he had learned that if Parish died, the squaw was to gather up all the horses and drive them to her tribe who were camped near Fort Lemhi, and he started that story to cover his intention to drive the horses to some safe place. After an exciting day Dr. Palmer, in attendance upon Parish, Yager, Bunton and Sanders spread their blankets upon the floor of the living room and were soon in dream-land. About midnight a terrible pounding upon the door brought Yager armed with a double-barrelled gun to his feet and a shout "Who's there!" A voice answered "Jack!" and in stalked Jack Gallagher. His temper had been badly warped by a long search for the cabin in a driving snowstorm. He demanded something to eat and drink which necessities Yager furnished, trying all the time to keep him quiet on account of Parish's condition. During Gallagher's swagger, Sanders raised his head and inquired if he knew where Plummer was. Instantly Gallagher covered Sanders with his revolver and swore that he would "shoot the top of his head off." But he had waked up the wrong passenger; before Gallagher knew it, Sanders jumped up and seizing Yager's gun which lay on the bar, he covered Gallagher, who threw his pistol on a table and tearing open his shirt told Sanders to shoot. He told him he had no desire to shoot anybody, but that if there was shooting to be done he intended to have the first chance. Things quieted down and Gallagher, determined to do the handsome thing, would not be comforted until he had



treated the crowd. Silence came at last to the occupants of Rattlesnake ranch, but toward morning another alarm roused the sleepers. This time it proved to be caused by two sterling men of Bannack who were at the behest of his distressed wife hunting W. F. Sanders.

Only a few days subsequent to these occurrences, three wagons owned by Milton S. Moody left Virginia City for Salt Lake, via the Red Rock cut-off a few miles below Bannack. Seven well-known business men of Virginia City improved this opportunity to take with them about \$80,000 in dust for transmission from Salt Lake to their eastern creditors. The road agents were fully informed of this arrangement and John Wagner (Dutch John) and Steve Marshland, (both members of my Deer Lodge party) were selected to rob the train. One of the merchants, John McCormick, had at one time, befriended George Ives, and in a moment of confidence he had warned McCormick to be always on his guard and not to sleep until the train had crossed the divide north of Snake river. It was afterward known that when the train was in camp in Blacktail Deer canyon, the two robbers crept up when the men were scattered in groups around the fire, eating their supper, and afterward retired a short distance for conference, that Dutch John tried to induce Marshland to attack at once, claiming that they could kill four at the first fire and by rapid firing and shouting give the impression that they were surrounded by a large party, and in their fright they would run and leave the train. Marshland thought it too risky and would not consent.

While the campers were at breakfast next morning, hidden by a sharp point of rocks which caused a turn in the road, they heard a voice in a nearby thicket say, "You take my revolver and give me your gun, and you come right after me." In an instant every man made ready, and the click of the gun locks gave notice to the robbers that the game was against them and they drew off. A few hours later these two men rode into the noon camp with their guns ready for instant use, and making some conversation, made particular inquiry about some lost horses, and then rode on down the Salt Lake road.

Two days later the train approached the divide, and the horsemen of the party rode ahead as was their custom, to select a spot for the night camp. Only three or four men remained with the train. Suddenly out

from the brush close beside the way, rode two disguised men with double barrellled shot guns in hand, who shouted, "Hold up your hands every one of you or we will blow the tops of your heads off!" Instinctively up went every hand in sight, no one thought of resistance. While Marshland searched the men Dutch John covered first one and then another of the victims. Marshland was nervous and did not discover a revolver in Moody's boot-leg or \$100 in his shirt pocket. In the first wagon he secured a satchel containing \$1,500 in greenbacks. As he climbed into the third wagon he was shot by Melancton Forbes who was inside, caring for a sick man, the charge entering his breast. Forbes had watched the robbers through a hole in the wagon cover and was prepared for them. Marshland jumped from the wagon and gained cover. As Dutch John fired at the driver the act caused his horse to rear which probably saved the driver's life. Then Moody made use of his revolver wounding Dutch John in the shoulder, but before pursuit could be organized he was able to gain cover in the thick brush. Marshland's horse and twenty pounds of tea which he had stolen from a Mormon train were confiscated, but both robbers escaped. After overtaking those of their party who had chosen the camp a delegation returned to the place where the robbery took place, and followed the trail of Marshland. They found the missing greenbacks but they did not find either robber. Marshland afterward informed the vigilance committee, that at one time the men were within fifteen feet of him. Leaving this train to make its way to Salt Lake, we will now turn to another section of the country.

Near where the road from Bannack to Alder gulch strikes the Stinking Water stood at this time Robert Dempsey's ranch. Situated in a beautiful valley with unlimited range of good pasturage, it became the place where nearly all those people on Alder gulch (a branch of the Stinking Water) kept their stock. A German by the name of Nicholas Tiebalt placed his fine pair of mules on this ranch for safe keeping. He afterward sold them to Burtchy & Clark for whom he worked. Having occasion to use them, they sent Tiebalt down to the ranch to bring the mules to Virginia City. Several days elapsed and Burtchy & Clark heard nothing of Tiebalt or the mules, and concluded that he had sold the mules and gone to the states. Nine days after Tiebalt disappeared, one William Palmer

shot a grouse as he was travelling toward Virginia City, and it fluttered into the air for awhile and fell among some bushes in a little ravine. Searching for his bird he found it lying upon the frozen corpse of a man. He went to the wickiup of John Frank (Long John) and George Hilderman not far away, and asked them to assist in putting the body into his wagon, so that he could take it to Nevada City (just below Virginia City) but they both refused to have anything to do about it. Palmer, however, without assistance loaded the body into his wagon and took it to his home in Nevada City. Here, when viewed by the public it became evident that the man had been dragged while still alive by a rope placed around his neck, through sage brush to the place of concealment, for his hands still contained pieces of the brush which he had clutched as he was dragged along. The discovery of this murder sealed the doom of the road agents. Before dark twenty-five brave and determined men had signed a written obligation that they would not disband until the country was free from the control of the desperate gang who were terrorizing the people. At ten o'clock at night, well armed, they took up their march for Dempsey's ranch. At break of day having arrived near Long John's wickiup, a barking dog gave an alarm, but the scouts putting their horses into a run had surrounded the shack before its occupants were aroused. The leader, putting his head inside shouted, "The first man who rises will get a quart of buck shot in him before he can say 'Jack Robinson!'" With guns covering the prostrate men who could be seen through the entrance, the leader called out "Long John!" "I'm here," said that individual. "Come out!" Under the escort of four men Long John was taken to the spot where Tiebalt's body was found and he was charged with his murder. This he stoutly denied, but after long questioning he admitted that George Ives, then in the wickiup killed Tiebalt. The men arrested at the wickiup were, besides Long John and Ives, Alex Carter, Bob Zachery, Whisky Bill, Old Texas, and Johnny Cooper. At Dempsey's they captured George Hilderman and closely guarding them all they reached Nevada about sundown. The members of the gang not yet captured, some of whom were not even under suspicion, immediately dispatched Club-foot George to Bannack to beseech Plummer to come to the rescue and demand that the prisoners be tried by a jury, well knowing that the sheriff by miners

law would have the selection of such jury. But the assembled people had become the governing power at this time, and it was determined that the trial should proceed before all the people, but under the direction of twelve men appointed from each mining district, but the verdict should be by the people. Wilbur F. Sanders and Charles S. Bagg were chosen to prosecute, and Alexander Davis and J. M. Thurmond had been secured by friends of the accused to defend the prisoners. All four were skilled attorneys and each exerted all his talents in conducting the case. Two days were spent in unprofitable wrangling and little advance had been made toward a decision, when a spokesman for the people assembled, announced that the trial must end by three o'clock in the afternoon. Long John had turned states evidence, each prisoner being tried separately, and George Ives being then on trial for killing Nicholas Tiebalt. In his testimony Long John said that Ives had told him the following words, "When I told the Dutchman I was going to kill him, he asked time to pray, and I told him to kneel down then. He did so and I shot him through the head just as he commenced his prayer." The scene of the trial was described by one who was present as something awful to behold. The swaying multitude; the deep silence which would fall upon the crowd when some witness told of the terrible deed of some member of the murderous gang; the intense interest of the few sympathizers with the accused; the citizen guard with loaded guns stationed to prevent any attempt at rescue; the murmurings of the large majority of the people who were impatient and disgusted at the long delay in arriving at judgment, made the whole wild scene a most impressive exhibition of the fearful passions inherent in humanity.

It was nightfall before the special jury took the case under consideration. The great crowd seemed stifled as they waited for their report. After what seemed an age to the anxious people, a verdict of "guilty" was announced with only one dissenting voice, this being a man who believed that George Ives was a member of the road agent band, but that he did not actually kill Nicholas Tiebalt. A brave, honest man. The attorneys for the accused put in a plea for adjournment, but the assembled people voted instead "that the report of the special jury be received and that the jury be discharged." Wrangling again commenced, but a mo-

tion "that the assembly adopt as their verdict the report of the committee" was put and carried.

The counsel for Ives had vehemently opposed this, but the almost unanimous action of the people was an assertion that delay would no longer be tolerated. The leaders for good government now saw that there was necessity for immediate action, and W. F. Sanders made a motion "that George Ives having been proved guilty of the murder of Nicholas Tiebalt, he be immediately hanged by the neck until he is dead." Ives then realized his deadly peril and begged for delay until morning; he wished to write to his mother and sister. Some person in the crowd who knew that Ives had caused a letter to be written them some months before that he had been killed by Indians, caught Sanders by the hand and said, "Ask him how much time he gave the Dutchman?" Notwithstanding all this, ample time was given for his counsel to write several letters for him, and to execute a will by which he gave to counsel and some boon companions, all the property that he had, excluding his mother and sister. A hundred men with leveled guns surrounded the hastily erected gallows as Ives was placed upon the box below the fatal cord. When all was ready he was asked if he had anything to say, he replied in a firm voice, "I am innocent of the crime charged against me; Alex Carter killed the Dutchman!" At the word of command, "Men, do your duty!" the box flew from under the feet of George Ives and his soul went to a tribunal which could not err. In some never explained manner the fact of the arrest of Ives and the other road agents reached Plummer before the arrival at Bannack of Club-foot George, the special messenger sent to him. He found the people wild with a story, started by Plummer, that a vigilance committee had been formed at Virginia City, that they had already hanged several of the best citizens of the district, and that a very large party were on their way to Bannack to hang him, Ned Ray, Buck Stinson and several of the most prominent and worthy men of the place, some of whom, he named. The dragging in of the names of respectable people with those belonging to the gang, failed of the desired effect. The brave and determined stand of Wilbur F. Sanders at the Ives trial put him in the position of leader in this revolution for good government. George Hilderman was next placed on trial. It was proved that he was

knowing to Tiebalt's murder and kept silence; that he knew of the murder of a man at Cold Spring ranch; that he kept the Tiebalt mules after they were stolen; that he knew and associated with all the men who had taken part in the stage robberies and was a member of the gang; yet he was recommended to mercy by the jury who convicted him, and when told that he was given ten days in which to leave the country forever, he fell on his knees exclaiming "My God! Is it so?" He then made full confession and fully confirmed all of Long John's testimony given at the Ives trial. Plummer assisted in getting him out of the country. Long John was permitted to go free because of his evidence at the Ives trial. The people were fully convinced that the safety of the community depended upon the extreme punishment of the gang of desperadoes, who were largely composed of men appointed as conservators of the public peace by the chosen executive officer of the several mining districts; the sheriff and his deputies. In the midst of this excitement came the appalling story of the murder of Lloyd Magruder and his companions by Dr. Howard and his pals. Magruder had made many good friends at Virginia city and his murder gave great impetus to the efforts of the Vigilance committee.

An executive committee of twenty-four men, selected for their sterling character and known bravery, well armed and fully equipped for long, cold riding, immediately set out for the capture of Alex Carter. As soon as Ives was executed, Carter, Bill Bunton, William Graves and some other suspects found that they had important business which required their prompt attention upon the west side of the Bitter Root mountains, and in their sudden departure did not fully discriminate in the ownership of the horses they rode. The Vigilante scouts after crossing the Big Hole river in pursuit, while riding down Deer Lodge met Erastus Yager, my old companion; "Red." He was very communicative and informed them that Carter was just below at Cottonwood, drinking, and boasting that it would take thirty men to take him and his crowd. When the scouts reached Cottonwood they learned that the gang had received a letter from George Brown warning them that the Vigilantes were in pursuit, and the road agents had hastily fled into the mountains. Suspecting that "Red" had been the messenger, they decided to return to the Beaver Head ranch.

and arrest "Red" and Brown for interfering with the administration of justice. Terrible weather set in and the party were compelled to make a camp near the divide in which they were storm bound for two days, suffering intensely. Inquiry at the ranch established the fact that "Red" had gone to Rattlesnake and that Brown was at Dempsey's. A detachment volunteered to go after "Red" and the main party agreed to wait for them at Dempsey's. At Plummer's ranch on the Rattlesnake they found Buck Stinson and Ned Ray, who informed them that "Red" was at a wickiup a short distance up the creek. "Red" surrendered without resistance and was taken to the ranch where the party remained over night.

They then took "Red" to Dempsey's where the united party remained for the night, having Brown for their host. When ready to ride in the morning the captain took Brown one side for a private interview, and accused him of being a member of the gang and giving information to Carter. He admitted that he sent word to Carter, but declared that he was not a member of the gang. He was placed under arrest, and "Red" was privately interviewed, and then both were examined by the whole squad. Leaving the prisoners under guard, the rest of the squad rode to the bridge over the Stinking water, where they went over the whole evidence, and the men who were for conviction were asked to step across the bridge. Every man voted "Guilty." Taking up their march toward Virginia City at Lorain's ranch other members of the Vigilance committee were met, a conference was held, and immediate action was decided upon. By the dim light of a lantern, ropes were thrown over a limb of a large cottonwood tree, and with little ceremony the souls of Erastus Yager and George Brown were launched into eternity. From the time of his capture to the final scene, "Red" had shown most wonderful nerve. He asked no stay of punishment, said that he deserved it all and had for years, and that he would die content if he could see those far more deserving than he, hanged, or knew that they would soon suffer the same death. He acknowledged that he was a member of the gang, and thanked God that he had never taken a human life. He gave the names and offices of the men in the gang; Henry Plummer, chief; Bill Bunton, roadster; (he escaped to Salt Lake and was executed by the Utah government); Cyrus Skinner, horse thief and roadster; George Shears, the same;



Frank Parish, the same; Hayes Lyons, telegraph man and roadster; Bill Hunter, the same; Ned Ray, keeper of the council room at Bannack; George Ives, Steve Marshland, William Graves ("Whiskey Bill"), John Wagner (Dutch John), Johnny Cooper, Buck Stinson, Frank Pizanthia (Mexican), Bob Zachery, Boone Helm, Billy Terwilliger, Gad Moore and Club-foot George Lane, were spies and roadsters. Their oath bound them to follow and shoot at sight any other member of the organization who divulged any secret relating to their affairs, or who proved unfaithful to orders of the chief. They were to take life only when plunder could not otherwise be secured. Their pass-word was "Innocent" and they wore their neckties in sailors' knots, mustaches and chin whiskers. Yager said that Bill Hunter led him out of the path of rectitude years before. He gave the names of those who had been engaged in the most startling robberies, and told of the commission of many unknown crimes by members of the gang, against persons who had secretly departed for the states. As he stood on the block beneath the gallows, he said, "Brown, if you had thought of this three years ago, you would not be here now and give the boys all this trouble." Thus passed out of life another of the party which I piloted into Bannack.

Brown was a coward. He begged piteously for his life, and bemoaned the helpless condition of his Indian wife and his children in Minnesota. The Virginian City committee immediately equipped three of their number bearing a copy of "Red's" confession and sent them post haste to Bannack urging the formation of a Vigilance committee. The messengers arrived Sunday morning before day break and found that the leading citizens of the settlement were already in session deliberating what action it was best to take in regard to other members of the gang, present in the settlement.

While the trial was in progress at Alder gulch, the robbery of the Moody train on the Salt Lake road took place. As the train moved on toward its destination it was met by Niel Howie and John Fetherstun who were bound for Bannack. Two braver men never lived than these. The train men thoroughly described the robbers and at the ranch at Horse Prairie they immediately recognized Dutch John, who in his wanderings in the mountains had frozen his fingers so badly that his sufferings drove

him to risk appearance at the ranch. He had picked up a stray Indian who had helped him saddle and care for his horse. Howie and Featherstun took Dutch John with them to Bannack and placing him in a room at Sear's hotel, Fetherstun stood guard while Howie sought some one with whom to counsel. He met Plummer, and told him that he had Dutch John who was charged with robbing Moody's train. Plummer offered to relieve him of the care of his prisoner and said he would have him tried by a miners' jury. Howie told him that he would first see a few friends about the matter. The people were then, and had for most of the night been in session, and just before Howie made his appearance, the three men from Virginia City had been admitted to the conference and were rehearsing "Red's" confession. An examination of Dutch John was decided upon, and a squad sent to the hotel to bring him in. John Fetherstun was a brave man, but a stranger in Bannack, and when fifteen came into the room where he held his prisoner, and one who seemed in authority laid his hand on Dutch John's shoulder and said "You are my prisoner!" visions of a rescue arose and covering his prisoner he determined to die rather than let his prisoner escape. His fears were, however, soon quieted and falling in with the squad he was taken with his prisoner to a large rear room of a store, where he not only found his chief, Niel Howie, but a large gathering of the leading men of Bannack. In the presence of this assembly, John Wagner was examined, and then sent away under guard to another place. Plummer, Ned Ray, Buck Stinson, and the Mexican, Pizanthia, were known to be in Bannack at this time. Men were placed to watch the corrals where the robbers kept their horses. An executive committee of picked men organized under a chief that knew no such word as fear, and the execution of these robbers was determined upon. In the early hours of morning all but the executive committee sought needed rest.

Sunday morning came, and an unusual silence seemed to brood over the little settlement at Bannack. Untold secrets were locked in many breasts which seemed suffocating to the owners. At the Vail house breakfast table, gathered Mrs. Vail and her two children, Sheriff Plummer, my clerk Swift, and myself. Mr. Vail, if I remember correctly was absent from Bannack. Only one of that party possessed the terrible secret, and

love for an individual and stern duty to a whole community struggled for the mastery, in the bosom of that person. Patriotism, or prudence, I never knew which, gained the mastery and the sealed lips sounded no alarm. Judge Edgerton was early at my store and sat by the fire and talked, Buck Stinson's head suddenly appeared at the door, but he said nothing and did not come in. Few people seemed moving in the village street, but again the store door opened and Ned Ray stepped in and made some casual remark. It was very evident that these men were very nervous and anxious to know what was taking place. Plummer had been ailing for several days and had been at home much more than usual. At dinner he ate but little and soon laid down upon the lounge in the living room.

A few of us had established a Sunday service and for that purpose had attractively arranged a small log cabin situated in the rear of Oliver's stage office, now known as "Hang-mans gulch" A. W. Hall from St. Paul, Mrs. W. F. Sanders, Miss Lucia Darling, (a niece of Judge Edgerton) and his daughter Martha, (now Mrs. Plassman) and myself constituted the choir. We were in the habit of gathering each Sunday evening at the Sander's cabin for rehearsal, and being at the Edgerton's when evening spread over the valley the young ladies made preparation to go to the Sanders home, as usual. Soon Mrs. Edgerton said, "Girls, you will not go to Yankee Flats this evening!" Murmurings were hushed by the heavy tread of many men on the footbridge over the creek, close by the Edgerton house. ²³ In the dusk fifty or seventy-five armed men were dimly seen to be crossing to Yankee Flats. Seemingly without command, the men divided into two parties after crossing the bridge, and one squad silently surrounded the Vail cabin. A well known citizen rapped on the door, and when Mrs. Vail opened, he asked if Mr. Plummer was in. Plummer, who was lying on the lounge came to the door and the strong man threw his arms around him, pinioning his arms to his body. Not feeling well he had taken off his belt containing his pistol and heavy knife and laid them beside him on a chair, a most unusual thing for him to do. He always went armed even in the house. He was allowed to put on his coat, and quietly exerted himself to calm Mrs. Vail's excited condition, telling her he was needed to do something about Dutch John. The armed men closed in around the prisoner and at the bridge were

met by the other squad, who had been equally successful in arresting Ned Ray at the cabin of a Mr. Tolland, where he boarded. Stinson was afterward found asleep on a billiard table in one of the saloons. No attempt was made that night to find the Mexican.

The prisoners were taken to a gallows which Plummer had erected as sheriff, for the execution of one John Horan, convicted by the Miner's court of the murder of Lawrence Keely in 1862, which stood near our little log meeting house. Hardly had the party passed the Edgerton house than in came Mrs. Vail hysterically calling for me. Mrs. Edgerton was a most motherly woman and calmed her as best she could, and then I took her home. I told her that Mr. Plummer's being taken, had some connection with Dutch John's arrest, as indeed it had; in fact, I told her anything which I thought would allay her excitement, and awaited events with nervous apprehension. After a long time I saw a man standing before the cabin. I went to the door and spoke to him. He simply said "It is all over!" Then came the hardest trial of my life, to tell this woman the true life and of the death of Henry Plummer. She dropped to the floor in a swoon, and I called Mrs. Sanders and returned to the Edgertons. At the gallows a most pitiful scene was enacted. Plummer begged in abject misery for his life—for the sake of his young wife—for the sake of Mrs. Vail—for time to pray. He was too wicked to be rushed into eternity without preparation—they might maim him in any manner, only spare his life and he would leave the country forever. The Vigilante chief told him that he had a duty to perform which was as hard as death itself, but that there would be no change in the decree; that they all must hang. A young man who had been won by Plummer's loveable qualities and had just learned of his danger, now rushed in and embracing Plummer begged for his life, and had to be forcibly removed from the scene. When everything was ready and the command "Bring up Ned Ray" rang out from the chief, the committee lost no time in placing that individual on a box beneath the halter, for both he and Stinson, ever since their arrest, had spent their breath in cursing and swearing, using the most provoking and vile epithets toward the Vigilantes, and the public, that their unlimited command of villainous language en-

abled them to do. Soon the body of Ned Ray was dangling at one end of the beam. Plummer had become calm and as Stinson stood under the noose and offered to confess, Plummer told him, "We've done enough already to send us all to hell!" There was no hesitation on the part of the committee in disposing of two such bloody rascals as Ray and Stinson.

But now came a moment of suspense. Under the gallows which he had erected and used as an officer of the law in sustaining good government, stood a nice clean looking young man, only twenty-seven years of age, of pleasing and affable manners and of good ability, who had attracted many friends. The ardent affection exhibited by his impulsive young friend who was a general favorite with the public, also created a certain sympathy with the assembled crowd. Plummer no longer begged for his life, but only that he be given a good drop. He took his scarf from his neck and casting it to his young friend, said, "Keep that to remember me by." When all was ready and the order came, no man stirred. A moment, and then came the stern command, "Men! do your duty!" and several strong men lifted the body of the robber chief as high as they could reach, and dropping it, he died almost without a struggle.

Heredity had nothing whatever to do with the terrible criminality of Henry Plummer, who gained such notoriety as chief of "The Road Agents of Montana." He was a native of Connecticut, born of respectable parents, and his deviation from the path of rectitude resulted from leaving home influences while yet a youth into bad company. He became a gambler, a seducer, a murderer, an escaped convict, and was charged with killing a pursuing officer at the time of his escape from the California penitentiary. He was a leader in many crimes which are rampant in most mining towns in their early days, and his career in Lewiston, Oro-Fino, and other camps upon the west side of the mountains made it necessary for him to seek some country where he was not so well known.

For a few months we were by chance thrown into close companionship and our personal relations were pleasant and agreeable, except upon

one occasion. January 1, 1864, Judge Edgerton's daughter Mattie. Misses Amoret Geer and Emma Zoller, came into my store and I was busy weighing the young ladies, when the door opened and Plummer came in. We were all talking and laughing, when a young man whose name has escaped my memory, but who was in some way connected with Oliver & Co's express walked in. Immediately both men began to fumble for their arms, and I saw that there was to be trouble. As they approached each other both began cursing and the young ladies fled shrieking to the street. I ran between the two men facing Plummer and put my two hands against his shoulders which hindered him from quickly getting at his heavy sheath knife. His opponent was unable to release his pistol in time to shoot. as I had crowded Plummer to the rear door of the store where he made a lunge by my face with his knife, but was unable to reach his victim. I threw open the rear door and pushed Plummer out and his opponent vanished by the front door and was hustled out of town by Oliver & Co. If I ever understood the quarrel between the two men I do not recall it, but Plummer afterward apologized for beginning a quarrel in my store, and more especially when ladies were present, but said that I saved the rascals life. His own career ended ten days later. This was the only time that I ever saw Plummer otherwise than gentlemanly and polite. He was ever so at our meals with the Vail family and Mr. Swift.

After the execution, Dutch John remained in the hands of his keepers and on Monday morning a few of the principal men of Bannack met to consider his case. He was brought in for examination, and as he recognized me, he held up his frozen hands and said, "Dr., see those hands." His condition was sad enough to excite pity in a savage. Further action in his case was delayed by excitement on the street. A large armed party were engaged in a search for the Mexican, Jo Pizantia, who was a member of the gang. When in his cups he had often boasted of having been a member of the celebrated Waukeen's band of robbers in California. Many knew that he had recently been shot through his chest in a drunken brawl and that he was concealed in some cabin or prospect hole in the gulch.



Just down the creek bank at the rear end of my store was a little miner's cabin, and as a party of which Smith Ball, the only honest deputy of Sheriff Plummer, was leader, pushed open the door of his hut, Ball received a bullet in his leg, and George Copley, who was next to him was shot in the breast and immediately expired. The citizens were wild with fury at Copley's death, and opened fire on the cabin. Ball having tied a handkerchief over his wound and continuing in the attack. No person was so rash as to approach the cabin and learn the effect of their fusilade. In the excitement some wild shooting was done, and several bullets came through the door and window of my store. I noticed the chief justice of Idaho among the gathered citizens, armed with a Henry rifle, and as soon as decency would permit, betook myself inside my log walls. Pretty soon a party appeared dragging by a long lariat, a small brass cannon belonging to Judge Edgerton. They took a large packing box from my store and mounting the gun upon it bombarded the cabin with explosive shells. The enemy making no reply some bold man pushed open the cabin door, and discovered the Mexican lying upon the dirt floor, partially protected by a spare door. The lariat which had been used on the gun was slipped upon the Mexican's neck and some small lad shinned up a tall pole standing by a prospect hole, and the body was jerked to the top in a very short time. As the body swung in the air it was filled with bullets, and a hundred hands made short work of pulling down the cabin, and piling up the debris to which they set fire after putting the Mexican's body upon the funeral pile. I could not but moralize upon the sudden change in human feelings and conditions, as I saw a man the next morning panning out the ashes of the Mexican, hoping to find that he had gold dust upon his person when he was killed! Yesterday the people were excited with the most extreme passions of vengeance and destruction; today returned to the practical things of life!

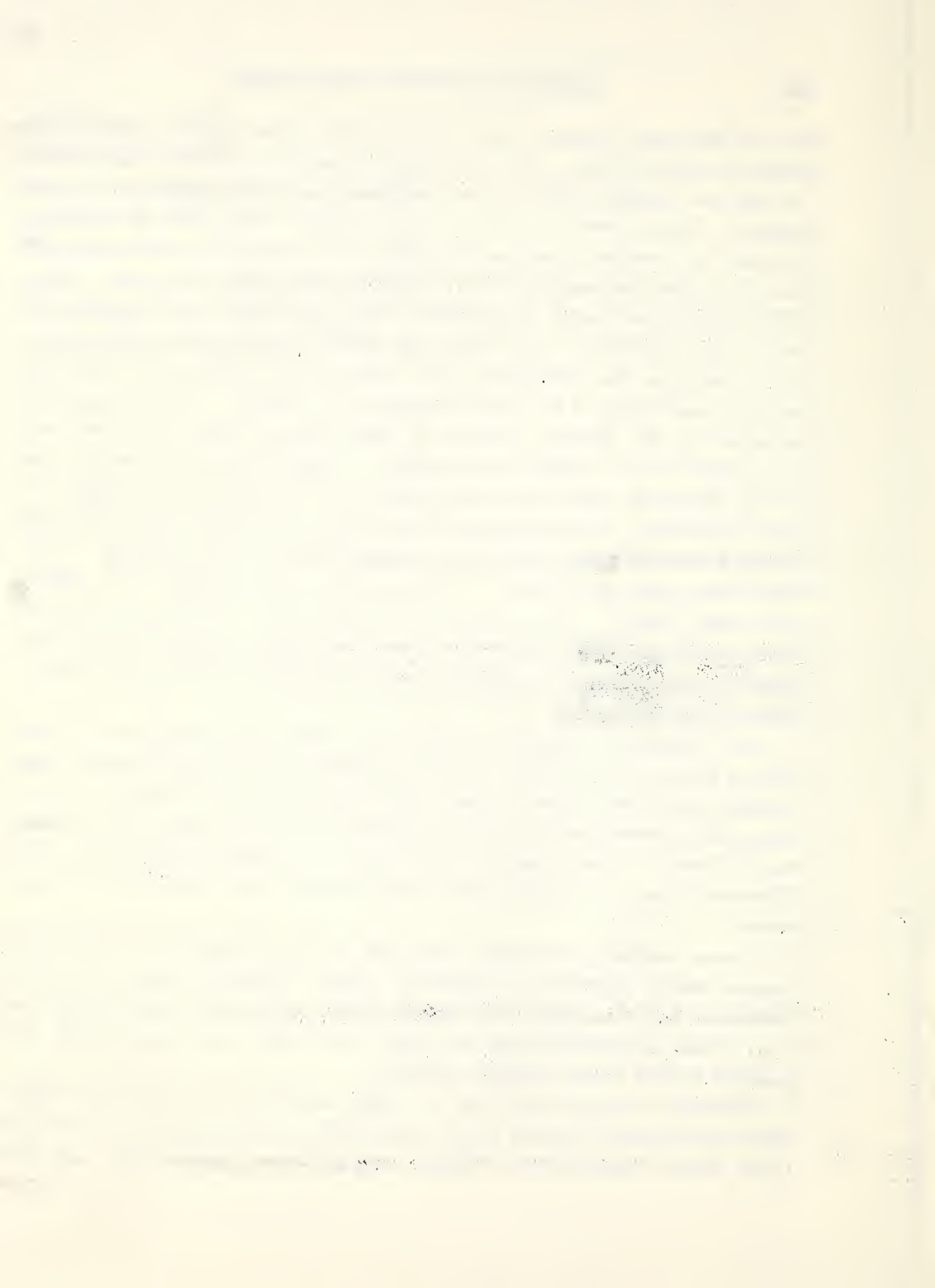
After hearing the final confessions of Dutch John, the citizens meeting unanimously decided that he must die. His statement tallied with that of "Red," and that was the only trial these remaining road agents ever had. The decision was reduced to writing and a messenger read it to the miserable man. He was informed that he had but an hour to live, and that no change would be made in the decree. At first he begged

for life, but soon became calm and asked that some German write to his mother at his dictation. When this letter was prepared and read to him, he was not satisfied with it, and unbound his frozen fingers and wrote himself. He informed her that he was to die at once, that he had been led into bad company, that he had helped rob a train, that his companion was shot, that his punishment was extreme, but that it was just. Many of the spectators deeply sympathised with poor John, and he seemed too manly and inoffensive to have his life snuffed out in such cruel manner. On a bench in the unfinished store where he was taken for execution, lay the dead body of his leader, dressed for burial! On the floor near at hand lay the ghastly remains of Buck Stinson who had often been his companion in wicked transactions. Amid these surroundings the young desperado knelt down and asked the Father of all to forgive his great iniquities. As he mounted to the top of the barrel which had been placed under the beam, he was the calmest person in the building. "How long will it take me to die?" "I never saw a man hanged!" "It will be very short, John." "You won't suffer much pain." Suddenly by an attached cord the barrel was jerked away, and John Wagner had paid the penalty of his crimes. So passed from life another of the party whom I piloted into Bannack!

Mr. Plummer, sometime before his death had deposited with me quite a little sum of money. After consulting with Judge Edgerton, Mr. Sanders and some others, I paid from this fund for a coffin and the expenses of a decent burial, and the remainder I sent by draft to Mrs. Plummer in Iowa. I never received any reply to my letter telling her of Mr. Plummer's death or whether she ever received the remittance, I do not know.

It was carefully concealed from me at the time, but I afterward learned that a physician in Bannack, robbed Plummer's grave, and took therefrom his skull and his forearm which carried the bullet lodged in it by Hank Crawford's shot, and that the bullet was worn smooth and polished by the bones turning upon it.

Plummer was executed Jan. 10, 1864, and three days later the Vigilantes surrounded Virginia City at night fall, as it was known that George Lane, Frank Parish, Jack Galligher, Hayes Lyons, Boone Helm and Bill



Hunter were hidden in town. As they drew in their lines all these men were secured but Bill Hunter, who crawled by the picket in a mining ditch and escaped for the present, but was afterward captured. No delay occurred in completing arrangements for the execution of these desperadoes, and they were all placed upon the same scaffold and swung off consecutively. The victims were placed on boxes about three feet high, to each of which a cord was attached, and the fall was sufficient to break the necks of the condemned men. Club Foot George was the first to suffer, and as he caught the eye of an acquaintance he exclaimed, "Well good bye old fellow, I'm off" and leaped from the stool and died with hardly a struggle. He had tried to get Judge Dance to intercede for him, and when he told him he could do nothing for him, he said "You'll pray for me, won't you?" "Most willingly, George" and kneeling down with George on one side and Galligher on the other he put up a fervid petition for the doomed men. The committee had assured the sufferers that any requests they wished to make should be complied with so far as was possible, and Galligher standing with the halter about his neck called for one more drink of whiskey. The committee and the people were astounded, but soon a miner called out, "You promised! let him have the whiskey." The bravado's wishes were complied with, but the rope being too taut for him to drink with ease, he shouted "Slack that rope and let a man take a parting drink, won't you?" He cried and swore by turns. As he exclaimed "I hope forked lightning will strike every strangling villain of you," the box flew from under his feet and his effort to close with an oath was forever cut short. Seeing the contortions of Galligher's body, Boone Helm exclaimed, "Kick away old fellow; my turn comes next. I'll be in hell with you in a minute." "Every man for his principles; Hurrah for Jeff Davis! Let her rip!" The twang of the fatal cord was the signal of almost instant death. Frank Parish had been completely subdued ever since his arrest, and at his request his face was covered with his black neck-tie as he speechlessly ended his career. Hayes Lyons had steadily hoped that he might at last be saved from the fatal knot, but when he found this would not be allowed, he requested that his body might be given to his mistress, and said that the watch he wore belonged to her. He was especially charged



with the murder of W. S. Dillingham who had been appointed a deputy by Plummer, but had proved to be an honest and worthy young man, who had imparted information to a person who was likely to be robbed by some members of the gang. For this he was killed by Stinson, Lyons, and Charley Forbes, the latter being killed on the Big Hole, by Augustus Moore, who was also a member of the gang. The execution of Lyons, ended the active labors of the committee for that time at Virginia City. The remaining members of the road agent band had made every effort to escape from the country, but fate was against them. The great depth of snow on the Bitter Root range became an effectual barrier to their escape from the little mining towns to which they scattered.

It is due to the reader and to my own feelings that I express my horror and disgust at having felt compelled to put down so fully the bloody transactions which took place, at this period of the history of this section. But in no other way could I express with fidelity the actual condition of affairs in this community at this time. Far from the control of any organized government, the people felt compelled in their might to rise and show the gamblers, robbers, and murderers, that they could no longer terrorize the people. I have only particularized in my relation except in cases of members of the gang with whom by peculiar circumstances I had been more or less intimately associated.

After this terrible period had fully passed and some new comer came into Bannack, and made inquiry concerning the times and the road agents Judge Edgerton was wont to clap me on the shoulder and say, "Thompson is the only one left of his gang!" His vivid explanation of the meaning of his words, always gave me a feeling of relief and of re-established respectability. Of Dr. Howard's party, referred to by Judge Edgerton as my party, only the fate of Steve Marshland and Bob Zachery remain untold. Marshland was the man who at Deer Lodge was unable to ride his horse, and lending the animal to me, rode in my "go-devil." His "sickness" was the result of a gun shot received while stealing horses near Lewiston. He was gentlemanly in his manners and used good language.

Twenty-one brave and determined men left Virginia City, January 21, to find and execute Steve Marshland, Cyrus Skinner, Alex Carter, Johnny

Cooper, George Shears and Bob Zachery. These members of the road agent gang had fled to Deer Lodge with the expectation of escaping over the mountains to Lewiston, which the deep snows prevented them from doing. A detachment from the Vigilantes found Marshland at Clark's ranch on the Big Hole river. He was the only person at the ranch and was in bed suffering from the wound which he had received when he robbed Moody's train on the Salt Lake road, and from his frozen feet while wandering in the mountains. It is unnecessary to give the particulars of his execution by hanging, the gibbet being a pole projecting from the corral fence. His taking off, disposed of one more of my summer party on the Bannack road. When the Vigilantes approached Cottonwood, their scout reported that all the birds had flown, but Bunton and "Texas." Riding up to the door of the cabin at night, Bunton refused them admission, and when compelled to admit them he blew the light out. He was ordered to light up again and at length complied with the command, though grumbly. Bunton was immediately grappled by a lusty Vigilante, but he was unable to secure him, without the aid of others, who bound his wrists with cords. When he became convinced that nothing would change the intention of the squad to hang him, he declared to the captain that he had no fear of death: "I care no more for hanging than I do for taking a drink; but I should like a good drop. I wish I had a mountain three hundred feet high to jump from! May I jump?" Being assured that he might, the noose was adjusted, and when he was placed upon a box under the cross-beam of the corral gate, he said, "I'll give the word, one-two-three!" and at the last word he jumped into eternity. Texas being tried and no evidence of actual murder having appeared, but only that he had acted as a stool pigeon, he was set at liberty, and he pushed out at once for the Kootnai mines.

It was mid-winter and the cold was bitter indeed, there were no bridges in the country and every icy stream had to be forded, on every elevation the snow lay at great depth; but notwithstanding all these difficulties, these intrepid men kept on down the valley of the Hell Gate, and found in the Bitter Root valley, Alex Carter, Cyrus Skinner and Johnny Cooper, whom they executed. Thomas D. Pitt, captain of the squad, learned that a stranger was stopping with "Baron" C. C. O'Keefe.

of O'Keefe Castle, at Korakin Defile, and sent a detachment of eight men to learn whether or not the stranger was one whose presence was desirable at headquarters. He proved to be Bob Zachery. While taking the prisoner to the home camp, Baron O'Keefe, who was riding with them, incidentally mentioned that another unknown man was stopping at Van Doorn's cabin, in the Bitter Root valley. Three men rode to the place, and at the door of the shack, inquired if George Shears was in. Van Doorn answered that he was, and Pitt asked if he could come in. Upon the door being opened Shears was discovered, knife in hand, but he offered no resistance, but said, "I knew I should come to this some time, but did not think it would be so soon." As he walked to the corral he pointed out to Pitt, horses that he said he had stolen, and then was taken to the barn, where the men had already attached a rope to a high beam. Shears was good natured, and in order to save the men the trouble of arranging a drop, he cheerfully complied with their request that he climb up a ladder and jump from it. When he had climbed a sufficient height he said, "I never was hung before and am not much used to this business; shall I jump or slide off." The answer came, "Why jump, of course." "All right! good bye!" So was snuffed out the life of another of those red handed wretches whose lives had been forfeited by their crimes.

The squad who had Zachery in custody, overtook the main party, and a conference was had at which the execution of that robber was decided upon. When his fate was made known to him he dictated a letter to his mother in which he warned his brothers to avoid bad company, declaring that drinking, gambling, and bad company had brought him to the gallows. When the fatal cord was adjusted he broke forth in prayer "that God would forgive the Vigilance committee for what they were doing, as it was the only way to clear the country of road agents." Zachery died without exhibiting any fear, and apparently with little suffering. He was a member of that party which I escorted from Deer Lodge to Bannack, and of whom I was now the only survivor in the country. Having as they thought, finished the business which had brought them to Hell Gate, the party made preparations to start for Nevada City, when intelligence arrived that William Graves (Whiskey Bill) was at Fort Owen, some distance up the Bitter Root valley. He

To be Continued.

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